THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

VOL. XIV NO. 3 MONDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1975 25¢



INSIDE

JoANNE LITTLE IN CHICAGO: "SUPPORT DELBERT TIBBS"



BPINS photo

Sister JoANNE LITTLE came to Chicago on a whirlwind, 3-day campaign to rally support for Delbert Tibbs, a 36-year-old Black man falsely accused of raping a White woman in Florida. JoAnne is beaming as she receives a bouquet of flowers from a young White supporter at a Community Forum sponsored by the Intercommunal Survival Committee.

(Chicago, Ill.) - JoAnne Little made a three day whirlwind trip through Chicago from September 18 through the 21, to help focus attention on the Delbert Tibbs case.

Returning to Chicago for the first time since her historic acquittal in North Carolina — of charges stemming from an incident in which she defended herself against a racist prison guard who attempted to rape her — JoAnne was featured on radio and TV shows throughout her stay here. With a few notable exceptions, the press showed her great respect and she was able to bring the Delbert Tibbs case to the attention of hundreds of thousands of people in Chicago.

Delbert Tibbs is a 36-year-old Black man from Chicago charged with rape in Florida. This tragic but all too familiar case brought Tibbs before an all White jury which convicted him of raping a White woman. The Delbert Tibbs Defense Committee points out that the evidence was almost non-existent.

The woman's contradictory story and consistent errors about the description of the so-called "rapist" was corroborated only by the testimony of a convicted and self-confessed rapist who claimed Tibbs confessed the crime to him while in jail. The date the man gave for this so-called confession, however, was three weeks prior to the time when he met Tibbs in jail.

A writer, Tibbs was traveling through the country, alone, with very little money, hoping

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Editorial

HEROIN LAW

With the signing into law of the mandatory sentencing bill for the sale of heroin by California Governor Jerry Brown last week, the way is opened for what could be a major assault on the trafficking of drugs in this state. However, our fear is that implementation of the bill will fall most heavily on the very small-time street exchanges of the deadly drug with the major dealers, the importers and all those in high places that protect and facilitate the traffic, remaining safe from capture and prosecution.

It is common knowledge that the sources of narcotics for street use are primarily outside this country; that their entry into the country involves major and expensive illegal operations and operators and that their distribution throughout the country and into the communities involves federal, state and local political and private individuals tied into powerful crime syndicates, many of whom are known to the alleged law enforcement agencies.

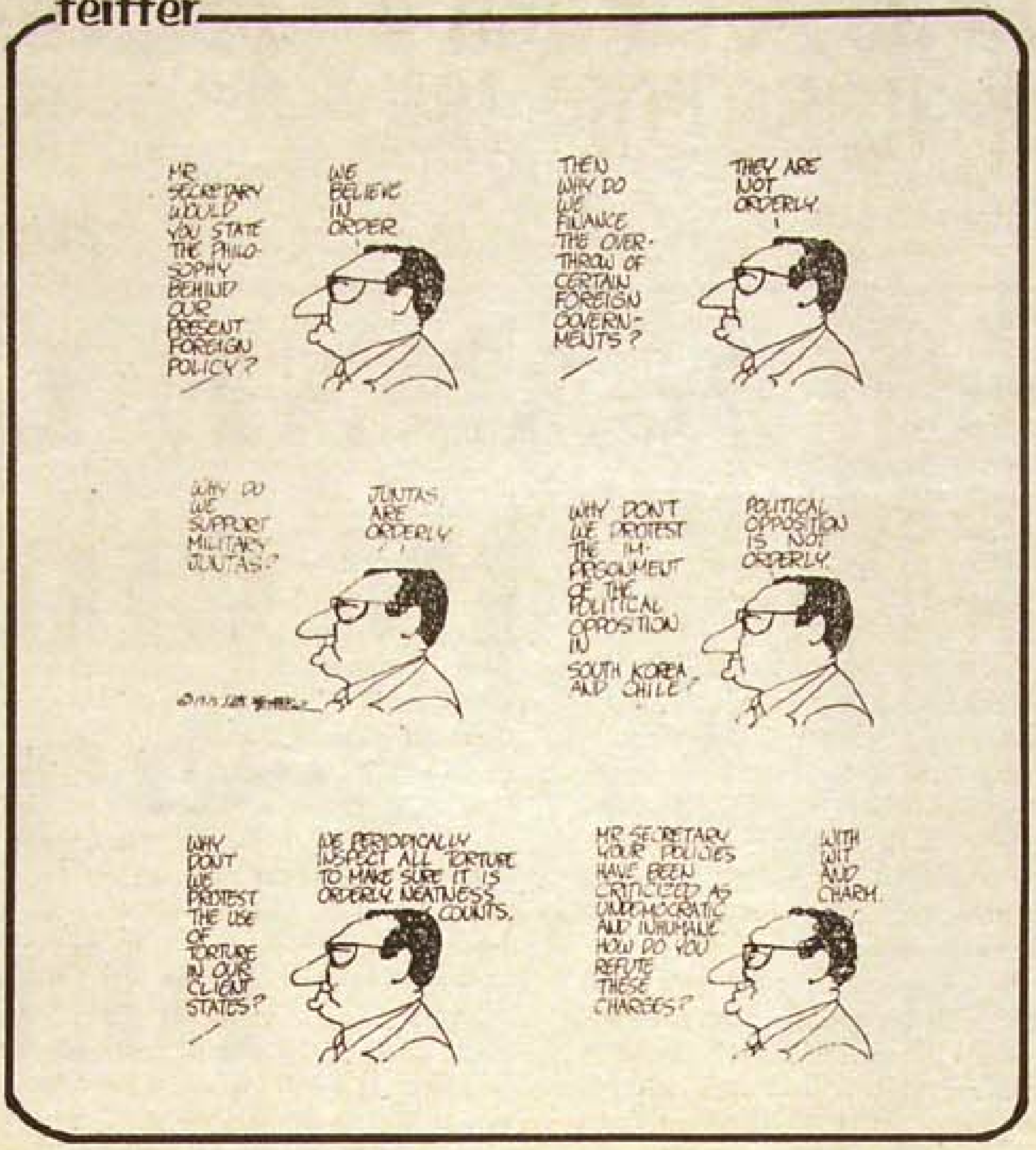
Street dealers, particularly in the Black and poor communities throughout the country, are most often themselves victims, users strung out on the drug, dealing in relatively small quantities in order to secure the money to feed their own habit. Those actually responsible for supplying these wretched victims, and who reap the enormous profits such traffic produces, are seldom the object of the enforcers of the drug control laws already on the books.

Five year mandatory sentences inflicted upon these victims, resulting in exposure to prison situations where prison administrators, guards and crime syndicates vie for control of the prison trafficking in drugs, will only compound the problem by confirming these victims in the use and distribution of heroin.

The very occasional big bust, now and for very long only token actions meant to silence repeated criticism of the failure of antidrug enforcers to get at the big cats, does little or nothing to stop the deliberate flow of debilitating drugs into our communities.

And, so long as unemployment, racism, inequality in the law and fascist type repression is the order of the day in this country, we question that after-the-fact type laws, enforced against the victims rather than the culprits, will contribute to freeing our communities and the country of the scourge of escape-seeking drugs.□

feiffer



Letters to the Editor

TRANSFER MY SUBSCRIPTION

Brothers & Sisters,

This is just a note to say that I have been transferred from Folsom to San Quentin, and I'd appreciate it if you'd change the address on my subscription to the above.

I would also like to take this time to express my thanks to all involved in putting together your most informative publication.

In Struggle,
Alfred L. Love
Tamal, Calif.

MARION PRISON ACTIVIST FRAMED ON ASSAULT CHARGES

Dear Editor,

Brother Frank Gaskins, a Black P.O.W. better known as Comrade Ko-Jo, a very brilliant and courageous brother who has been in this dungeon for 2 and a half years fighting and resisting the inhumane practice of behavior modification, was taken to St. Louis, on Monday the 15th of September for arraignment on alleged charges of assaulting four prison guards. The pigs are claiming that on the 6th of June, brother Ko-Jo assaulted four pigs.

But we know different. How could our brother being handcuffed as if he was some type of animal, how could he assault four pigs? No, this isn't true. If anything, brother Ko-Jo was assaulted by the four pigs. These charges are false, and an attempt to try and break this brother's resistance. But, knowing this strong brother personally, he will never stop fighting the inhumanity we are subjected to in this dungeon.

Brother Ko-Jo, who is from Washington, D.C. and comes from a poor and oppressed family, is very deeply in need of aid from the people; attorney's, etc. etc.

Brother Ko-Jo, who is from Washington, D.C., and comes from a poor and oppressed family, is very deeply in need of aid from the people; attorneys, etc., etc. In order that this injustice not be imposed on this brother, the people who are concerned about the mistreatment of prisoners should show your concern now by stepping forward and aiding our brother in fighting these frame-up charges.

Remember, that we behind these walls are struggling along with you for the victory of freedom. This brother needs your help today.

In Arms and Struggle,
Pedro Bennett (Sekou) - 94040-131
P.O. Box 1000
Marion, Illinois 62959

P.S. If you would like to contact this brother:
Frank Gaskins (Ko-Jo)
P.O. Box 1000
Marion, Illinois 62959

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COMMENT

"Common Situs And The Cotton Fields"

By Reed Larson

The problems faced by Black workers in the building and construction trades is discussed in the following comment by Reed Larson, executive vice president of the National Right to Work Committee. Larson warns of impending legislation that would destroy job opportunities for thousands of Black construction workers who have been denied entry into trade unions.

For the past several years, Herbert Hill, labor director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), has been urging — without visible success — that Black workers stop fooling themselves and accept the fact that Big Labor is either unwilling or unable to open its doors to minorities.

As early as ten years ago, he was aware that at the heart of this problem lies compulsory unionism, a "Catch-22" institution which is used unblushingly by some union officials to keep certain workers "in their place." Writing in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Hill said:

"As long as union membership remains a condition of employment in many trades and crafts and Negroes are barred from union membership . . . then trade union discrimination is the decisive factor in determining whether Negro workers in a given industry shall have an opportunity to work."

(It is important to stress that union officials probably are no more or less bigoted than any other group of people; only that their bias has a damaging outlet in federally sanctioned covenants which restrict employment to union members only.)

Nowhere has this been more true than in the violence-ridden

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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SAN QUENTIN 6 CASE

Federal Judge "Considers" Protection For Mancino

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Presiding federal District Court Judge Oliver Carter has "taken under consideration" a motion by attorneys for Allan Curt Mancino requesting federal protection for the White inmate from California Department of Corrections (CDC) officials seeking to intimidate him into testifying against the San Quentin 6.

Brought down from Washington State two weeks ago as a coerced prosecution witness against the six Black and Brown prison activists, Mancino was beaten in his Marin jail cell the night prior to his taking the witness stand, and two days later was whisked off by CDC personnel — without ever testifying — to an unknown destination. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

PROTECTION

It has recently been learned that attached to the motion to Judge Carter requesting the federal protection are a number of documents from Washington State—where the former Adjustment Center inmate is currently imprisoned on a stolen car violation—stating that Mancino should not revert back to CDC control.

The documents include a letter from a Washington trial judge concerning Mancino's decision to reject probation on the stolen car charge and to return to prison in that state, rather than allow a CDC "hold" on him to allow his return to California.

Other letters from his public defender in the stolen car case and a Seattle half-way house where he was residing also plead

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Correction

In last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER, Allan Curt Mancino, considered by many to be a key witness in the San Quentin 6 case and presently seeking federal protection from California Department of Corrections officials, was referred to as a "White informer Adjustment Center inmate." The copy should have read, "a White former Adjustment Center inmate." We apologize for this typographical error.

B.P.P. MEMBER'S LIFE THREATENED IN HOUSTON JAIL

(Houston, Tex.) - A threat has been made to kill Vernon "T.C." Benton, Black Panther Party member currently being held prisoner at Harris County Rehab Center on Atascocita Road, according to a reliable source. Additional information was received by the Committee To Defend "T.C." that a prisoner was murdered on Rehab's third floor on the evening of September 19.

MEDIA REFUSED

The media was refused admittance into the facility and officials were unavailable for comment. The Committee To Defend "T.C." is demanding a full-scale investigation into this further extension of police brutality and harassment.

Rehab was recently described as one of the most inhumane jails in the United States by a member of the National Clearinghouse for Criminal Justice Planning and Architecture, which studied the jail in August, 1974, at the request of Sheriff Jack Heard.

Gerald W. Birnberg, an American Civil Liberties Union attorney, at a recent Commissioners Court hearing said that animals in the city dog pound receive better treatment than prisoners in the county jail.

Commissioners Court agreed last February to an out of court settlement of a suit filed against the County by six inmates in 1972. The improvement of jail conditions was included in the agreement.

Proposals for renovation of the jail don't even meet Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) standards, according to the architects brought before U.S. District Court Judge Carl O. Bue. Bue ruled that prisoners' Constitutional Rights are being violated at the downtown county courthouse jail and at the Rehab Center on Atascocita Road.

The $15 million the county proposes to spend to improve its jails is inadequate since the figure was based upon reduction of the average population of 1,140 inmates and renovations provide for only 40 square feet per inmate. The 40 square feet is equal to the minimum Texas requirement but far below the 70 square feet required to meet federal standards.

According to county officials, both the downtown and Atascocita facilities house about 2,500 inmates and are adequate for about 1,500.

However, while deliberations and discussions are being carried



Comrade VERNON "T.C." BENTON

on by authorities, the inhumane conditions at the county jails remain the same or worsen.

The Committee To Defend Vernon "T.C." Benton states that he has not received his BLACK PANTHER newspaper for four weeks and that some of his mail has been shredded along with the newspaper.

T.C. says that the "tanks" (cells), aside from being overcrowded, are also filthy, with rats, roaches and spiders running loose. Occasionally, poisonous snakes have been seen at Rehab. Medical attention is described by T.C. as being inadequate. The mess hall's condition is unsanitary, says T.C., since liquids, salt, pepper and foods are served in open containers, while flies and maggots roam throughout the open kitchen.

The floors are filthy and pose a constant threat since one can easily fall on food left there for days at a time. At present, some prisoners are having to buy cups in order to get something to drink, since there is a shortage at Rehab. Those who have no money are forced to go without. T.C. also indicated that he has, within the past year, been issued only one pair of underwear and one pair of socks.

If a prisoner were asked to describe the conditions they are forced to live under in Harris County, perhaps the word inhumane would be cast out as being too weak.

Hopefully, the Committee's request for an investigation into the threat on "T.C." and the Friday murder at Rehab will expose these conditions and see that they are corrected immediately.□



O.C.L.C. Martial Arts Team At People's China Celebration

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Oakland Community Learning Center's All Open Martial Arts Program gave another crowd pleasing exhibition on Saturday, September 27, at a 26th Anniversary Celebration of the founding of the People's Republic of China in Mosswood Park. The celebration, commemorating the historic October 1, 1949, founding of the revolutionary Chinese republic, was sponsored by the U.S.-China People's Friendship Committee.

Program director STEVE McCUTCHEN gave a very enthusiastic demonstration of martial arts techniques taught at the popular Learning Center facility.

BPINS photos

Protection For Mancino

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Mancino's case against reverting back to CDC authority.

The documents also contain a letter from San Quentin 6 trial Judge Henry Broderick who wrote a Seattle judge in 1973 that Mancino was a prospective witness in the San Quenitn 6 case and should not be released but bound over to CDC personnel for the long-delayed Marin County proceedings.

In the aftermath of the August 21, 1971, set-up and assassination of Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson at San Quentin Prison, Mancino, along with the other first tier Adjustment Center inmates, was brutally beaten with ax handles and burned with cigarettes while laying stripped naked, handcuffed and hogtied, on the lawn area.

A $450,000 damage suit filed by attorney Soladay for Mancino in 1972, asserts that Mancino was then shot in both legs by a .30 caliber rifle, operated on with no medication and then had a bag placed over his head and was beaten again.

He was told the torture would continue until he made a forced statement implicating the Six—

CONTINUED IN LAST COLUMN

PETITION

We, the undersigned, urge the committees of Congress investigating the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to do a thorough and complete investigation — not only of the activities of these agencies against prominent and "respectable" organizations — but also of the abuses suffered by minority and civil rights organizations, including the following:

Black Panther Party
Institute of the Black World
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People(NAACP)
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Southern Conference Education Fund
Urban League
Welfare Rights Organization

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Please clip and return to: The Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party, P.O. Box 297, Oakland, California 94604, or your local Committee for Justice.

CONTINUED FROM FIRST COLUMN

David Johnson, Fleeta Drumgo, Hugo Pinell, Luis Talamentez, Willie Tate and Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain—for crimes they did not commit.

Ms. Soladay, a Marin attorney with a dedicated interest and concern for the judicial fate of political prisoners and inmate activists' issues, flatly refuses to believe the line presented by the prosecuting attorney Jerry Herman that Mancino "fell" from his upper cell bunk, sustaining the injuries and bruises to his face.

She has said that, "I think the next thing we could find out is that Allan Mancino has been shot trying to escape."

Also included in the carefully prepared packet of information presented to Judge Oliver were: an affidavit from Ms. Soladay and fellow attorney Michael Lane describing the bureaucratic harassment they received from CDC officials when trying to locate their client; a sealed disposition from Mancino; transcripts of meetings between Mancino, attorney Soladay and San Quentin 6 trial judge Henry Broderick, for which Broderick unhesitantly rejected various protection requests; and a letter from Mancino to prosecutor Herman informing the latter of his "free and voluntary" decision not to testify at the trial and expressing "fear for his life."

REFUSAL

Besides stating his refusal to testify, Mancino says in the letter that, ". . .I would further like to reiterate my previous requests . . .not to be seen or contacted by yourself, members of your office, or anyone acting in concert with or on your behalf.

"Additionally, I would like herein to renew my previous requests to be placed in federal custody out of the control of the California Department of Corrections, as I am in fear for my life in their custody."

Finally located in solitary confinement in a Washington State Prison last week, Mancino is said by attorney Soladay to be receiving documents, including issues of THE BLACK PANTHER, which might achieve his release from the "hole" to the mainline population.

Mancino is said to be trapped by his own conflicting statements—some, if not all, acknowledged to have been coerced from him by sheer CDC brutality and terror—and his direct testimony at the San Quentin 6 trial remains a significant question mark for both the prosecution and the defense.


BPINS photo

Hayward City Jail

White Inmate Exposes Chino State Prison Violence

(Hayward, Calif.) - The highly publicized inmate violence, usually racial, in prisons like San Quentin in California, and prisons across this country, is the direct product of prison guard and administration provocation, incitement and manipulation. Its purpose is twofold: to direct inmate frustration and resentment over the brutal, dehumanizing prison conditions toward the inmates and thus away from the prison administration, and to justify repeated "law and order" demands for more money for more repressive prison facilities, salaries, and administration prestige and control.

Recently a volunteer solicitor for funds for Sickle Cell testing and research of the People's Free Medical Clinic in Berkeley was arrested, in the continuing pattern of police harassment and intimidation. While being held in a holding cell in Alameda County Courthouse in Hayward, California, awaiting court action, the volunteer met and talked with a White inmate incarcerated in the California State Prison at Chino. The following is the revealing account of that encounter.

"The first time I killed someone I ran back to my cell and cried, then I began to get colder and colder; after awhile the killing became fun."

This statement came from a young White inmate at Chino serving a five to life sentence for burglary. In the holding cell that morning everyone was awaiting trial for minor offenses, traffic violations, etc., and no one had ever really done any time in the "pen" (state penitentiary).

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SLAIN BLACK MAN'S FAMILY SUES OAKLAND "KILLER COPS"

(Oakland, Calif.) - The family of a Black man murdered in cold blood by police last February 2 has filed a million dollar damage suit against the city of Oakland, the police captain who heads the city's notorious Special Response Team (SRT) and 20 anonymous Oakland policemen.

Semillion Ester, 34, was shot down before a crowd of horrified Black neighbors in his community by Oakland police on February 2, 1975, as he leaped through the front window of his burning home following an over five hour siege at the 6441 Essex Street residence. (See the February 15, 1975, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

A subsequent district attorney's report found the slaying was "justifiable homocide."

Last week, the family of Semillion Ester — his wife, Janey, eight-year-old daughter, Cherly Marie Ester, and his mother, Mrs. Julia M. Ester — through attorney Robert Treuhoft, filed a $1,032,030 damage suit against those responsible for the tragic murder.

Specifically named in the suit, along with the city of Oakland and 20 "John Doe" (anonymous) policemen, is Joseph Colletti the gold-starred racist police captain who led the city's special killers —the SRT squad—into battle.

"TOUGH"

Hated in the Black community for his vicious routine (a short man who always acts "tough"), it was Colletti who pistol whipped Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, and another Party member when they were handcuffed following a false arrest at the Fox Restaurant in 1974.

The incident began on a low key when Mrs. Julia Ester summoned the police to her modest, one-story North Oakland residence to transport Semillion to the hospital because of his erratic, bizarre behavior.

Refused entrance into the house by Semillion, Colletti's SRT squad, later joined by approximately 20 to 30 other policemen, laid virtual siege to the home in an attempt to "flush out" Brother Ester.

These attempts included not only numerous tear gas cannisters which flooded the home, but also turning out the lights and ringing the telephone every five



SEMILLION ESTER being murdered by the Oakland Police Special Response Team (SRT).

minutes on the already confused Black man.

According to the affidavit of complaint, the Ester family charges that although the police were first called by Mrs. Ester, Semillion was not under arrest nor was there reasonable cause to believe he had committed a crime.

They assert that the police used "reckless means and excessive force" in firing the tear gas "and other inflammatory materials" into the house "without due care" for the welfare of Brother Ester or the property and family possessions inside the house.

Significantly, the expression "other inflammatroy materials" suggests that the family, like many other local residents, believes that the SRT squad used special incendiary devices designed to burn the house down. The Oakland police deny this charge, but cannot explain why the tear gas, which they say caused the holocaust, did not ignite the home until after four and one-half hours of siege, until the evening grew dark.

The family also charges, as many neighbors and concerned spectators can attest — including the mother, Mrs. Julia Ester, who

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Love Illusions Entertain Son Of Man Temple Audience

(Oakland, Calif.) - THE LOVE ILLUSIONS were the guest presentation at this week's Son of Man Temple Sunday Community Forum. This quartet of lovely Black ladies and their compliment of five talented musicians had the audience rocking in their seats.

The women vocalists displayed their finesse in song styles ranging from Rance Allen to Billy Paul to Earth, Wind and Fire. The band, not to be outdone, gave excellent renditions of songs by Santana and Graham Central Station.

BPINS photos

"KEEP STRONG": VITAL NEW MAGAZINE FOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF CHICAGO BY B.P.P. SUPPORT GROUP

(Chicago, Ill.) - *Keep Strong*, a new attractive, information-filled monthly magazine published by the Intercommunal Survival Committee (ISC) — a Northside community group here whose programs are patterned after the Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party — provides vital news affecting the lives of poor and oppressed people in Chicago and throughout the nation.

Among the features in the September, 1975, issue — the second issue of the magazine — are "A Citizen's Peace Force," an article written in 1973 by Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton that provides a concrete alternative to the proposal of a police state offered by the government; and a speech made by Ms. Elaine Brown, a leading member of the Black Panther Party, who spoke in Chicago in late July on behalf of a $30 million damage suit filed by the families of slain Illinois Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark against the law enforcement officials responsible for the murder of the two Panthers in December, 1969.

Other articles in this month's issue of *Keep Strong* include an article on JoAnne Little; an article on the massive overcrowding and inadequate food and health facilities at Cook County Jail; the city Free Lunch Program's fight for survival and an organized drive by uptown parents against the sale of toxic glue to their children.

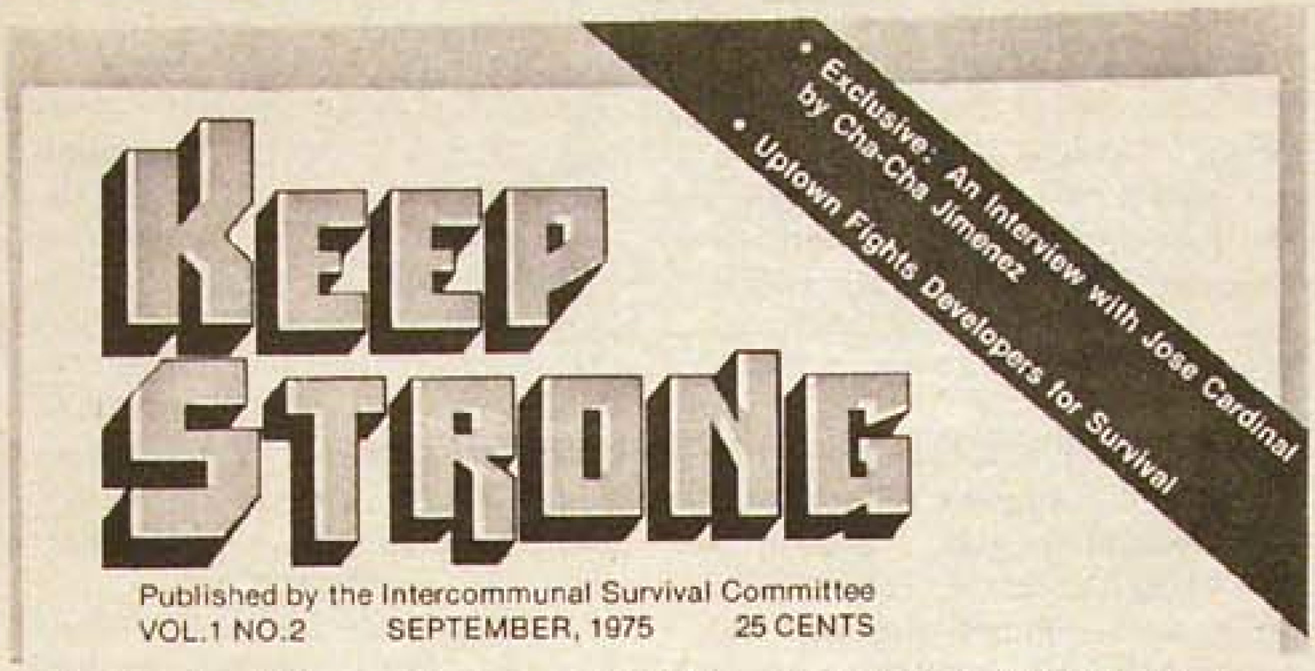
COAL MINERS

An article on a suit filed against Mayor Richard Daley and a private housing developer for replacement of low-income housing; and an interview with ex-coal miners who have had their benefits for black lung disease cut off, are included.

Regular feature columns in *Keep Strong* include: "On the 'Street," which is patterned after THE BLACK PANTHER's "On the Block"; "Welfare Rights"; "Unemployment"; "Legal Rights"; "Tenant's Rights"; and "Slumlord of the Month."

Other regular columns are "Police Watch"; Criminal Justice"; "Fighting City Hall"; "Education"; "National Perspective"; and "Intercommunal Perspective," this month featuring "The C.I.A. and Portugal: A Letter To The Portuguese People By Philip Agee," reprinted from the August 25, 1975, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.

The sports column contains an interview conducted by popular Chicago community leader and general secretary of the Young Lords Organization, Cha-Cha Jimenez, with Chicago Cubs outfielder Jose Cardinal. The entertainment section features a review of the movie *Aloha Bobby and Rose* and the book *The Badge They Are Trying To Bury*, written by Stanley Robinson, a Black former sergeant in the Chicago Police Department who was convicted in August, 1973, as the alleged leader of a police "hit squad."



Masthead of Keep Strong, *a monthly magazine published by the Intercommunal Survival Committee in Chicago.*

POLICE STATE

The editorial, entitled "Do We Have To Choose Between A State of Crime and a Police State?" calls for the adoption of Huey P. Newton's Citizens' Peace Force as "a replacement for the draft and at least part of the oversized U.S. military forces" which would "be under the control of and responsible to the community which it served." The editorial concludes by saying:

". . .surely a country that has the money to put a man on the moon also has the money to finance a Citizens' Peace Force at the community level that will take our youth out of the world of crime and give them employment, education and skills while helping to solve the grave problems of basic survival our communities face today."

THE BLACK PANTHER congratulates the Intercommunal Survival Committee on the publication of *Keep Strong*. It is a welcome addition to the small, but growing, truly progressive press in this country. □

Imprisoned Omaha Activist Condemns Death Sentence For Black Youth

We here reprint for our readers a portion of a letter written by Brother David Rice in protest against Judge Theodore Richling's sentencing of a 17-year-old Black youth to the electric chair.

Brother Rice was a member of the Omaha, Nebraska, Chapter of the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) who was falsely convicted in 1971 of the bombing murder of a policeman. He has appealed the unjust verdict and a new trial has been ordered. Later, the Omaha Chapter's office of the NCCF was demolished by bombs set by "unknown" antagonists.



DAVID RICE

"I write this letter to you in response to your August 20 sentencing of Rodney Lamar Stewart to the electric chair.

First, let me put you on notice that I am not at all surprised or shocked at your action. For you are no different from what I see as a gang of old and morally impotent, racist White men, who hold positions of power over the lives of the poor.

"Your life and your society is crumbling around you. Your children and grandchildren are abandoning your stupid values.

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THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

September 30, 1750

Crispus Attucks, a popular Black hero of the 1776 American Revolution, escaped from his master in Framingham, Massachusetts, on September 30, 1750. Attucks later became the first man to give his life for the Revolution when he was shot and killed while leading a group of demonstrators in an incident later known as the "Boston "Massacre," in 1770.

October 2, 1800

Nat Turner, destined to be a Black freedom fighter for leading a famous slave revolt in 1831, was born on October 2, 1800, in Southhampton, Virginia. His mother, an African-born slave, could not bear the idea of bringing a slave into the world and was "so wild. . .that she had to be tied to prevent her from murdering him." Nat survived and demonstrated his hatred of slavery in his own way. White historian Kenneth Stampp has said of Nat Turner, "No antebellum Southerner could ever forget Nat Turner..."

October 4, 1864

The *New Orleans Tribune*, the first Black daily newspaper, began publication on October 4, 1864, in both English and French.

October 3, 1949

The first Black-owned radio station, Atlanta's WERD, opened on October 3, 1949.

October 4, 1972

On October 4, 1972, U.S. District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., ordered the state of Alabama to "immediately improve its prison medical services for inmates." He stated that, "The present services in Alabama's prisons constitute a willful and intentional violation of the rights of prisoners guaranteed under the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments."



Solemn pallbearers carry away the caskets of slain Arab youth.

Two Arab Youth Killed By White Chicago Cop

(Chicago, Ill.) - The killing of two Arab teenagers by an off-duty White policeman here recently has been called "cold blooded murder" by Abdeen Jabara, a veteran civil rights lawyer from Detroit, investigating the case, reports *Muhammad Speaks*.

The youths, Nawaf Mahdi, 16, and Omar Ofana, 15, whose parents were killed by Israeli Zionist troops in Palestine using U.S. weapons and ammunition, were gunned down by Patrolman Daniel Gaffney, who claims one of the youth fired at him.

Attorney Jabara said that eyewitnesses challenge Gaffney's account of the killing and maintain that the youths were victims of racial prejudice. "It's a case where Arabs moved into a poor, White neighborhood and have been harassed ever since," said Dr. Hassan Abdallah, the Midwest representative of the League of Arab States, headquartered here.

Dr. Abdallah said "the boys immigrated to the U.S. three years ago seeking peace and the "American dream" after being violently forced from their village in Palestine by Israeli raiders using American guns. The deaths, he said, have brought the Arab community in Chicago, which numbers around 50,000, closer together.

Preliminary investigation shows that one of the boys had come to visit the other and on the way he had been attacked by a gang of Whites, Dr. Abdallah said. Prior to leaving for home, the visiting boy asked his friend to accompany him back through the neighborhood. "So the friend got a .22 caliber pistol and left the house with it," Dr. Abdallah said.

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LETTER TO REP. JOHN CONYERS

BLACK POLICE URGE BLACK CONGRESSMAN TO HOLD OPEN HEARINGS ON L.E.A.A. BIAS

(Oakland, Calif.) - The National Black Police Association (NBPA) has urged Congressman John Conyers (Michigan), in his capacity as chairman of the subcommittee on Crime of the House Judiciary Committee, to demand open hearings on the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). The LEAA is plaintiff in a class action suit brought by the NBPA and others for failure to abide by affirmative action rules and regulations in the dispersal of LEAA funds to police departments around the country that discriminate against Blacks, other minorities and women.

In a letter to Congressman Conyers, dated September 23, 1975, Raymond Clark, information officer of Region V of the NBPA, urges Conyers "to stimulate your colleagues in establishing open hearings on LEAA immediately."

The full text of Clark's letter to Conyers, which was also signed by Oliver S. Glover, co-founder of the NBPA and head of the Richmond, California, Guardians of Justice (Black cops) and Ronald L. Bank, chairman of Region V of the NBPA, follows:

"Dear Congressman Conyers:

"I am a police officer employed by the city of Oakland, California. I have served as a peace officer for over three years. I currently occupy the following two positions: president of the Oakland Black Officers Association (OBOA), and information officer of Region V of the National Black Police Association (NBPA). Region V consists of ten states, including Alaska and Hawaii. This Region has a constituency of hundreds of minorities and female peace officers.

"I am an individual plaintiff of the recent (NBPA) class action lawsuit against the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). I represent those Black officers who are similarly situated individually by the thousands in various local, state, county and city police agencies. We have been discriminated in the following areas — promotions, interdepartmental assignments, upward/vertical mobility training, bias in grooming standards, nonuniformity in disciplinary procedures and racial slurs.

"The NBPA comprises over fifty (50) Black organizations and each suffer similar problems. As peace officers, taxpayers, American citizens, we all believe in the governing of a democratic society, and believe we should not be denied our individual guaranteed rights under the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

"The NBPA and individual Black and female organizations have issued a series of administrative complaints indicating racial and sex discrimination to LEAA throughout the country. Several police agencies have received court judgments against them for noncompliance of their respective Affirmative Action guidelines and discriminatory practices.

"These agencies continue to receive enormous sums of federal block fundings from LEAA. Thus, LEAA has in its own administration failed to enforce its statutory and legislative responsibilities, as outlined in the Omnibus Crime Control Safe Street Act of 1968, Title I, Sections 508 and 509, and Executive Order 11375 and 11246 of the Equal Rights guidelines.

"As it relates to the judicial process, policing assumes an intricate role in modern society, particularly in the total spectrum of law enforcement, crime, and social justice. This relationship can only be enhanced if all police jurisdictions provide minorities with positions of responsible leadership and decision-making authority. Conversely, this does not suggest or imply a reduction in police services, recruitment, training, standards or performances, but rather an awareness



BPINS photo

Pastor J. ALFRED SMITH, RAY CLARK, OLLIE GLOVER and SANDRE SWANSON at press conference on L.E.A.A. discrimination against Blacks, women and other minorities.

and foresight of those two combinations of blending the nontechnical and technical aspects of a police officer's performances in addressing organized and local crimes with a clearer perspective.

"The Kerner Commissioner's reports cited reference to effectually reducing civil disorders (riots) in one respect by employing minority officers in those areas which clearly reflect problems of a sensitive nature. Also those areas that needed an upgrade in training, research and studies of cultural and homo-

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Appeal For Stay Of Execution For Michiah Shobek

(Nassau, Bahamas) - The Milwaukee Chapter of the Black Panther Party is making an urgent appeal for a stay of execution on behalf of Brother Michiah Shobek, a Milwaukee resident with a long history of mental disorders, who is scheduled to be hung here on October 7 for the murder of an American tourist.

Mrs. Juanita Spencer, Michiah's mother and presently a resident of Milwaukee, and Michiah's attorney, Clarence R. Parrish, charge Bahama authorities with beating a confession out of Michiah, preventing vital evidence that would prove this innocence from being entered in the trial record and railroading him to the gallows in total disregard for his mental condition.

Wisconsin and State Department officials are being contacted and asked to intervene in the interest of justice for Michiah Shobek.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED TO PROTEST INJUSTICES AGAINST NATIVE AMERICAN PEOPLE

(Tacoma, Wash.) - A nationwide campaign to expose U.S. aggression against Native Americans on their lands is being launched by the American Indian Movement (AIM). The campaign was set off by the terror tactics of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the FBI on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations in South Dakota.

Early in the morning of September 5, about 80 FBI agents attacked the Rosebud reservation homes of American Indian Movement spiritual director Leonard Crow Dog and AIM supporter Al Running. They woke everyone, including sleeping children, and lined them against the wall.

The alleged incident leading to this assault occurred at 3:00 a.m., September 3, when two "goons" were run off the Crow Dog homestead. Charged with assault with a deadly weapon were Leonard Crow Dog, Gerald Millard, Owne Young, Jr. and Al and Frank Running. Bond was set at $5,000 each. Also arrested on weapons charges were Anna Mae Aquash and Darryl (Dino) Butler. Everyone was taken to jail in Pierre, South Dakota, about 150 miles away.

7 VICTIMS

Attorneys are working for the release of these seven victims, but FBI agents remain on the reservation.

This is but one incident that AIM and the Survival of American Indians organization are trying to focus national attention on.

On the Pine Ridge reservation a state of undeclared war still exists in the aftermath of a gun battle in which Joe Stuntz (Killsright) was murdered and two FBI agents were killed. On Indian "reservations" across the nation, Indians are being abused by BIA and FBI agents. Over 200 civil suits have been filed since the 1972-73 Battle of Wounded Knee, and in recent months over 40 Native Americans have been murdered.

In South Dakota, the traditional chiefs of the United Sioux Tribes have demanded that Gerald Ford honor, once and for all, the 1868 treaty with the Ogala Sioux or face continued Indian uprisings. Free elections and free assembly have been demanded also so their people can truly govern themselves.

In support of the Ogala Sioux, 150 Native American supporters staged a six-day, 150 mile march from Olympia, Washington, to Tacoma, Washington, to protest the injustice against Indian people. Similar action is planned to coincide with this country's Bicentennial celebrations next year.

In a resolution sent to President Ford by the Ogala Sioux Nation, a severe indictment was leveled against the U.S. government as the traditional chiefs and headmen expressed the true feelings of their people, stating. "You have interfered with our Dakota way of life, our religion and the cycle of life, including all forms of nature."□



The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota: The scene of frequent FBI attacks which have caused a state of undeclared war to exist on the reservation.

Coors Beer Sued For Discrimination

(Denver, Colo.) - The government has filed a hiring discrimination suit against Adolph Coors Company, the brewing company headed by Gerald Ford's nominee to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Joseph Coors.

The suit, filed September 19, 1975, in U.S. District Court by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, charges the company for the last 10 years "intentionally engaged in unlawful employment practices," reports *The New York Times*.

The suit said the company discriminated in the hiring and promotion of Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and women in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The company is lead by Joseph Coors, who earlier last month appeared before the Senate Commerce Committee in confirmation hearings on his nomination to the public broadcasting board.

OUR HEALTH

"Bad Breath"

Judging by the almost $240 million in sales of mouthwashes and gargles in 1972, the American people apparently have a great fear of offending others with "bad breath." Chronic bad breath (halitosis) is a symptom, not a disease. As with many symptoms, there are several possible causes, few of which are affected by mouthwashes, sprays, drops, toothpastes, etc.

Most people notice an unpleasant taste and breath odor when they wake up. This is probably due to bacteria acting on food particles in the mouth during sleep. When a person is awake, bacteria and food particles are regularly moved by means of chewing, swallowing and talking—as well as by random and purposeful tongue movements.

During sleep these natural defenses take place without one's awareness. However, proper brushing or flossing of the teeth before going to sleep does much to lessen the chance of "bad" breath in the morning by removing the particles on which bacteria tend to grow.

Antiseptic mouthwashes might have some effect on the number of bacteria in the mouth, but this effect lasts for only a short while. The mouth regains its normal amount of bacteria within a short period of time. Plain water works just as well as a mouthwash.

Most mouthwashes contain alcohol. Regular use of mouthwashes may cause excessive drying of the mucous membranes of the mouth and may aggravate infections or inflammations that were already there. If you must use a mouthwash, select one without alcohol or one with a minimal alcohol content. The amount of alcohol in some mouthwash brands ranges as high as 70% (Astring-O-Sol). Listerine is 25% alcohol; Scope, 18.5% and Lavoris, 5%.

The ineffectiveness of commerical mouthwashes in preventing halitosis led the federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in 1970 to prohibit manufacturers from claiming that mouthwashes have any therapeutic value.

Menard Prisoners Movement Established

(Menard, Ill.) - The Menard Prisoners Movement (MPM) Menard Prisoners Foundation, Inc., has recently been established here by inmates at the Menard Correctional Center. The MPM was formed by Brother Robert Young, Jr., in response to the brutal treatment of inmates and conditions which Brother Young describes as "below sub-human standards."

In a letter received by THE BLACK PANTHER, the atmosphere of brutality, perversion and hatred which exists at Menard is described by Brother Young:

"Inmates are being wrongfully confined in a sweat box in the Segregation Unit. In the Adjustment Center, inmates are being beaten, teargassed and brutally assaulted by correctional officers who have racist tendencies and believe in racial discrimination and de facto segregation. . .



"Several officers and a Catholic priest have been discharged from this institution for practicing the ideology of the Klu Klux Klan among White inmates. Correctional officers have been known to aid these inmates in recent disturbances and then blame Black inmates in their (the officers) efforts to cover themselves," Brother Young said.

The main focus of the MPM at this time is to establish meaningful programs, in conjunction with outside groups, that will have a genuine rehabilitation basis.

Describing criteria for these programs, the MPM says they "should have a higher educational and vocational standard for inmates who participate in them,

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SPRINGFIELD BLACKS AND PUERTO RICANS UNITE TO PROTEST POLICE MURDERS



Black and poor people's lives are in constant danger from insensitive, racist policemen.

(Springfield, Mass.) - The recent police shootings of three minority youth here have caused the Latin and Black community to respond with angry protests, reports *The Guardian*.

There have been several firebombings and police cars continue to be stoned as they cruise the streets. Some 50 people have been arrested and scores injured during clashes with the police, who were reinforced during the height of the protest by 400 riot-equipped officers.

The community protest was provoked by the senseless murder by police of Mark Walker, a Black man who police claim was a robbery suspect. The murder occurred on August 31.

Brother Walker's death was only the latest incident of police "overkill" tactics. On August 28, another Black man, Harvey Murchison, was shot in the buttocks by police and remains in critical condition. On August 26, Jose Reyes, a 21-year-old Puerto Rican, was slain by police.

Shortly after the Reyes killing, Frederico Brid, a spokesman for the Spanish and American Union, expressed community sentiment when he said, "If the trouble continues, I don't think the burning is going to be of homes anymore. Right now the cops are marked. They (the people) are going to get their licks against the cops."

The blindness of the police to the conditions in the community they're supposed to serve is so bad until they were stopping and searching cars coming into Springfield on Interstate 91 because they suspected "outsiders fermenting trouble."

Out of the fires of police repression a bond of unity has been forged between the Black and Puerto Rican communities. After Brothers Murchison and Walker were shot, a group of Black community leaders issued a statement of support for Springfield's Puerto Rican community which said, "The Black community joins with the Coalition for Justice (formerly the Puerto Rican Coalition) in support of their attempts to establish an independent police-citizen review board."

A steering committee made up of six members of the Black community and six members of the Hispanic community's Coalition for Justice has drawn up a series of demands.

The three main demands of the committee are: a citizen's review board; a review of the police firearms policy; and a review of police policy on suspensions.

The police claim there is already a review process, but it is done by the police themselves. In an interview with the *Inner Citizen* newspaper, Brid explained, "We have to have an alternative to the internal investigation unit, because it is a whitewash. We can't see the police investigating themselves and coming out with fair statements."

FLEEING FELONS

The present Springfield police firearms policy allows police to shoot at fleeing felons, regardless of whether the officers feel their lives are in danger. The policy states that police may shoot "to effect the arrest or to prevent the escape, when other means are insufficient, of a convicted felon or a person who has committed a felony in the policeman's presence."

Police Commissioner James Harrell told the Springfield *Daily News*, "These felons are often young. Nine times out of ten the officer would lose in a foot race. If the police officer gives a command to halt and the felon doesn't, then the policemen has his job to do and he should do it."

"This amounts to a policy of 'when in doubt, shoot,' " Tom Wiley, of the Brightwood Neighborhood Council, a part of the Coalition for Justice, was quoted as saying in an interview with *The Guardian*.

In the past, Wiley said, police have been suspended for such things as killing a dog or cohabiting with a minor, but in these two cases where people were killed there have been no suspensions.□

Gay G.I. Fights To Remain In Air Force

(Hampton, Va.) - Air Force T. Sgt. Leonard Matlovich, although defeated in his attempt to remain in the Air Force as a declared homosexual, is expected to win an honorable discharge rather than the less-than-honorable general discharge recommended by a three-man administrative board here last week.

The 32-year-old race relations counselor has been in the Air Force for 12 years. He served three terms in Vietnam and was awarded the Bronze Star and the Purple Heart medals for wounds he suffered in Southeast Asia. His military record was without a blemish until March 8 of this year when he "came out of the closet" and declared himself a homosexual.

Among his major supporters have been many Black soldiers on the base who have testified to his abilities as a race relations counselor. Matlovich reportedly told *The New York Times*: "As each Black witness got up there (at the Air Force hearing on his discharge), I felt a little shame because a few years ago I used the word 'nigger.' When the Blacks were seeking freedom in the sixties, I was against them. Now they're defending me."

Matlovich intends to continue to fight against his discharge.

"Common Situs And The Cotton Fields"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

building and construction trades. As a result, Blacks have often been either systematically denied employment, or given only the lowest paying jobs that nobody else wants.

This scenario takes on increased importance today, because Labor Secretary John Dunlop has thrown the weight of the administration behind a proposal which would destroy job opportunities for thousands of construction workers who are unwilling or unable to become union members.

Already rubber-stamped by George Meany's House of Representatives, the "common situs" legislation would make it legal for union pickets to shut down an entire construction project until every one of the possibly dozens of subcontractors working on the job cave in to their demands. Considering the blood-stained and well-deserved reputation of the construction unions, heaven help any worker or independent contractor who dares stand up for his rights.

BANKRUPTCY

In the long run, even the best motivated employer would eventually throw in the towel and force all of his workers into a union. Usually, the alternative is bankruptcy.

But what of the individual worker who finds himself shut out of a union and, therefore, out of a job? John Senna of New Bedford, Mass., might be able to shed some light on the situation.

Born in Cape Verde, off the coast of Africa, Senna has been fighting union cronyism for 20 years. Just recently, officials of Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 77 reluctantly agreed to accept him as a member — if he can come up with a $3,000 entrance fee.

Says union boss Armand Demanche, "If $3,000 is too much, let . . . (him) go back to the nigger outfits, or back to the cottonfields for all I care."

Well, somebody ought to care. With unemployment among Blacks already well above the national average, what we don't need is a new law that undoubtedly would create even more Black unemployment. Yet, that's exactly what we face. Common situs . . . and "back to the cottonfields."

ON THE BLOCK

What Do You Think About The Capture Of Patty Hearst?

Macey Varando
1775 Foothill Blvd.
Machinist



I think she's going to go free. I think her father could use his money better giving away free food than getting her out of jail.

I think that there's no brainwashing process involved, first of all. The whole thing was probably — her defense and everything else — was probably set up from the beginning. And that she'd just have to slide back in their pocket to get her own little thing back together again.



Fred Peoples
2245 11th Ave.
School Teacher

Gloria Lewis
610 E. 18th St.
Unemployed



I just don't believe it. I don't believe she's saying this. She's in it, and then she's saying that she's brainwashed and all this. It's crazy.

I think at first she was kidnapped but I think she knew all the people beforehand. About being captured and brainwashed, I don't go for that at all.



Horace Cunningham
1301 E. 18th St.
Retired

Richard Johnson
428 E. 19th St.
Sailor



I think it's a bunch of bunk.

First of all, I think she's guilty of everything they claim she did. I think she's going to get over. She can do anything she wants to because of her dough game, the money thing. I believe she'll get off with 90 days or less because she has the money to do it.



Darrell Frison
3216 Hemline Ave.
Student —
Alameda College

Al Morgan
Berkeley
Post Office



Right now I think it's a sham. I don't think that what's going down is really going down. I think it's a bunch of charades at this point to keep people confused.

BPINS photos

Mississippi Black Candidate Stops Paying For Discrimination

(Jackson, Miss.) - Running on a platform of protest which recalls the rebellion of the founding fathers of this country against tyranny, Henry Jay Kirksey, a 60-year-old native Mississippian, has announced he is running as an independent Black candidate for governor of Mississippi.

In a press statement recently received by THE BLACK PANTHER, Brother Kirksey recalled that the Bicentennial celebrates the open rebellion of the U.S. founding fathers against taxation without representation.

Brother Kirksey revealed that he has refused to pay taxes since 1964. Brother Kirksey states, "On the night of March 15, 1964, I decided that I could no longer pretend to be a man and ignore the fact that I was being robbed of my Constitutional rights of representation, among other things...I stopped paying income taxes in 1964 for precisely the same reason our founding fathers stopped paying income taxes 200 years ago. I submit that taxation without representation is just as tyrannical today as it was in the 1770s."

Brother Kirksey challenged the government to live up to its founding principle of "no representation, no taxation" and pledged that, if necessary, he would campaign and serve as governor from a jail cell on this platform.

"I have never once entertained that I would not have to pay dearly for my action — my refusal to pay for my own discrimination," declares Brother Kirksey in his press statement.

"I know well that immediately upon release of this statement, my future is certain — the same thieves whose fortunes are derived from subjugation of Blacks will set about to destroy me.

"I have but one hope — one possible reward — the hope that Blacks as a people will find the courage to take a stand for their full Constitutional rights as citizens — full voice in government. (it is my hope) that Black citizens will no longer accept the status of last hired, lowest paid and first fired...

"...that they will no longer accept crime-breeding slums as home; that they will no longer accept second rate education or

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INTERVIEW WITH MARGARET SLOAN

NATIONAL BLACK FEMINIST ORGANIZATION SEEKS SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS OF BLACK WOMEN

(Oakland, Calif.) - Margaret Sloan, one of the founding members and first chairperson of the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) recently joined the staff of the Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center, a nonprofit corporation that was formed to provide high quality medical care at reasonable prices for all women.

Ms. Sloan, a long-time activist in the Black liberation struggle, talked at length to THE BLACK PANTHER concerning the goals and objectives of the NBFO (a Bay Area chapter is in the process of being organized) and on issues affecting Black women in America — health care (abortion, forced sterilization, etc.), employment, rape, child care, prostitution, oppression of household workers, lesbianiam, etc. Excerpts from the interview follow.



Black women are taking a more active and vocal role in the struggle for human rights and women's rights in the U.S. The case of JoAnne Little is a prime example of Black women providing vital leadership in the fight against injustice.

BP: What is the National Black Feminist Organization?

SLOAN: The NBFO grew out of a group of 30 Black women activists who held a consciousness-raising meeting in August, 1973, in New York City. We discussed our relationship to the Black movement and to the feminist struggle, among other things. We did not come together to form an organization but wanted to plan a conference for Black feminists on the East Coast to analyze issues and problems affecting Black women. The conference was set for November (1973).

During this time we felt there was a lot of negative publicity about Black women and our relationship to feminism. Everybody was talking about Black women and feminism except Black women. So we (sisters planning the conference) decided to call a press conference. The day before the press conference, I said:

"We have to give our group a name. We'll just say that we're this national organization, scare everybody, they'll shut up and we can go ahead and plan our conference."

I wrote the statement of purpose, and we rapped about the kinds of questions that might be asked at the press conference. Everybody came out for the press conference. Ironically, the next day when an article appeared about us in one of the newspapers, we received over 200 telephone calls from Black women across the country wanting to know where NBFO chapters were in their area. The following day we received another 180 calls.

We realized that we had to do something for these women. The following week (after the press conference) we held a meeting in New York City which over 200 Black women from the East Coast attended. Five hundred women attended our first national conference in November, 1973. NBFO has chapters or is forming chapters in Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Atlanta, Kansas City, New York City, Los Angeles, Raleigh, North Carolina, Washington, D.C., Buffalo, New York, Baltimore, Houston, Texas, Philadelphia, and New Haven, Connecticut. Membership is open to any woman of African descent who pays the annual dues of $12.50.

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"DOUBLE CHAINS"

A Call To Action To Transform America's Prisons

By Bill Brent

Bill Brent, the author of the following in-depth examination of the U.S. penal system, is currently living in forced exile in Cuba, where he is one of the most respected Americans in residence, and is about to receive his degree in language arts from the University of Havana. Brother Brent knows from firsthand experience the cruelties and brutality of U.S. prisons, having spent 12 years "warehoused" in some of this country's worst prison dungeons.

In Part 8, which follows, Brother Brent documents the frequent and courageous inmate rebellions sweeping the California prison systems since the early 1960s. THE BLACK PANTHER thanks the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAL), for making this information available to our readers.

PART 8

But let us go beyond the propaganda of these prison systems directed to project their own popular image of being centers of rehabilitation and reform.

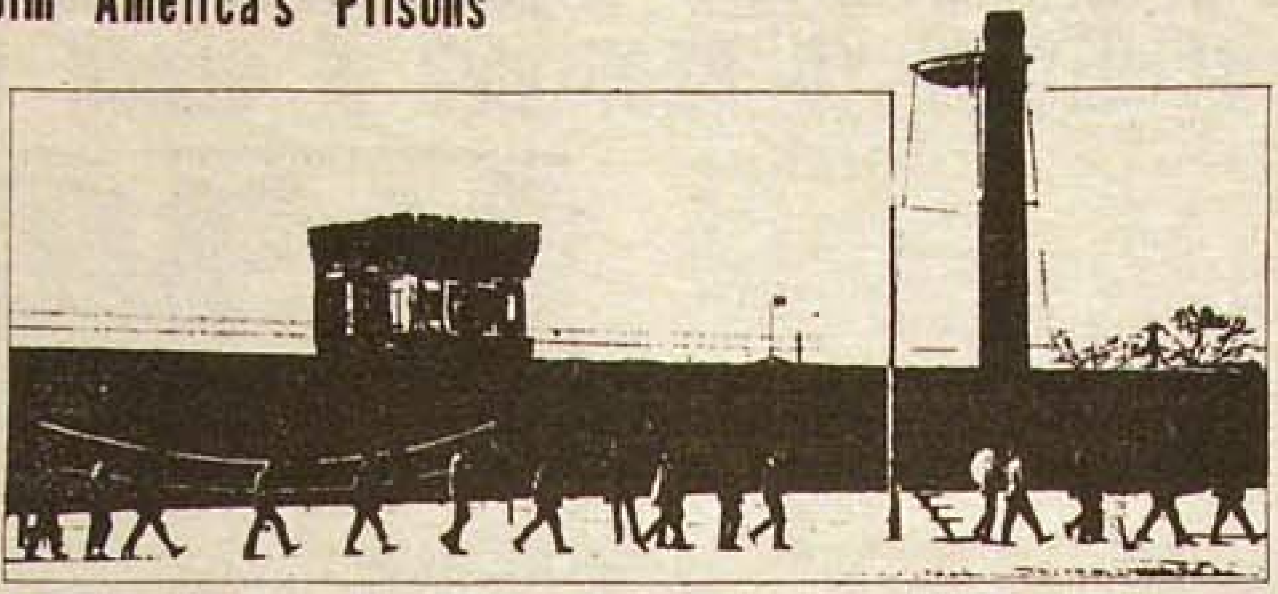
Let us start with 1961 at Folsom State Prison, California, where a group of Black Muslims broke the segregated dining facilities. These completely segregated facilities included one section of the mess hall that was reserved for Whites and Chicano brothers; the other section was reserved for Blacks.

UNJUST

These brothers decided it was unjust, that is should not be that way. It was not that they were so interested in eating with the White inmates. It was the matter of the institution perpetuating racism by encouraging racial separation.

In the prison's efforts to break up what they called a riot, ten inmates were injured and 24 Black inmates including 11 of the Muslims were shifted to the Soledad Adjustment Center. A statement by Warden Hines advised that, "It is not just the Muslims anymore" — who up to this time had been classed as trouble makers — "the other colored boys have joined up and this thing is getting out of hand."

Again, on March 30, in Folsom, State's Attorney General Mosk stated that the policies of racial segregation caused the riot at Folsom and that the so-called Black Muslim ring leaders had already been transferred to Soledad.



On April 25, again in Folsom, the state Supreme Court turned down an appeal by some of the Muslim brothers to be allowed to practice their religion in prison.

On August 13, at San Quentin, an incident occurred involving some Black Muslims being thrown into the hole for leading a meeting in the yard.

On January 30, 1962, at San Quentin, 80 prisoners at the Adjustment Center rebelled for four hours. The warden gave no explanation. Over $1,000 worth of damage was done.

On February 25, again at San Quentin, another uprising in the Adjustment Guidance Center. The guards used tear gas to suppress this rebellion.

On July 9, 1963, 1,500 prisoners in the state prison at Soledad held a food strike. Nine out of the 11 cell blocks refused Associate Warden Parks offer to eat in the prison mess hall. There was no report given on the demands made by the prisoners.

On September 16, 1963, in Folsom, the prisoners ended a five-day work strike which had been called in support of the prisoners' wives who were picketing at the gates demanding an end to the indeterminate sentence.

WORK STRIKE

On October 21, again at Folsom, more than 2,000 inmates joined in a work strike protesting against a $.04-an-hour wage, blanket term setting rather than case by case decisions. Warden Hines locked up all the prisoners, sent 32 of the so-called ringleaders to other prisons and cut one meal from the prison diet. And he also added new guards.

October 27, San Quentin: from 30 to 50 prisoners initiated a sympathy strike in solidarity with the brothers striking at Folsom; 4,000 prisoners refused to cross picket lines and the strike continued until October 31.

On October 26, rebellion in Soledad in solidarity with the striking brothers at Folsom and San Quentin, resulted in the death of one prisoner, the injury of 16 others and the transfer to other prisons of 29.

November 10, 1965: prisoners working in the Soledad clothing factory struck in protest against a $.30-a-day pay scale.

June 23, 1966, Robert Jordon, a Black Muslim inmate now in San Quentin, filed legal papers against the prison charging that the strip cells used in Soledad constituted cruel and unusual punishment. Jordon was stripped naked in his cell, covered with human feces, with no bed and no light. A federal judge, Harris, ordered an investigation.

On August 11, again in Soledad, prisoners in the disciplinary wing rioted after the federal court opened investigation of prison conditions, in support of that investigation.

On August 12, in Soledad, a 19-year-old Black prisoner was found hung in his cell. The verdict: suicide.

September 7, again in Soledad, Judge Harris, who originally ordered the investigation of the strip cells, ordered them closed or improved to meet human standards.

On September 10, in Soledad, Robert Jordon, who initiated the suit against the strip cells, was transferred to San Quentin because of the publicity given his case. It is obvious that the authorities were afraid of his leadership ability and concerned that he would become a focal point of leadership within the prison itself.

On January 12, in San Quentin, several Black kitchen workers were sent to the hole and nine more Blacks were fired from the kitchen crew. As a result of this, 31 more mess hall workers walked out in protest. At that time, the Black Muslims called a strike of all Black workers; 900 Blacks went on strike. During the days of rebellion that followed, 15 prisoners were wounded by guards' gunfire.

On January 19, the warden ordered a general lockup of all prisoners.

TO BE CONTINUED

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

CONJUGAL VISITS IN N.Y.

(New York, N.Y.) - In a project that is designed to help mend broken homes and strengthen others, as well as reduce homosexuality and lesbianism, the New York State Correctional facility at Wallkill will be implementing a program of conjugal visits this winter in which wives will be able to sleep with their husbands on the weekends. The program is eventually designed for both men and women inmates.

OFFICERS MUST QUIT K.K.K.

(Albany, N.Y.) - State Correction Commissioner Benjamin Ward is facing a tough fight in and outside the courts over his recent order to state correction officers — "Quit the Ku Klux Klan by October or face dismissal." Ward, the first Black man to head the state's correctional body, described the KKK as a racist, terrorist organization. Commissioner Ward's landmark directive followed a six-month probe of the KKK's activity in the state's prison system.

ARMY DEATH COVER-UPS

(Washington, D.C.) - The Army recently disclosed that it had covered up the cause and the circumstances surrounding the deaths of three civilian employees who died in the 1950s and 1960s of rare diseases that were then being studied for possible combat use. Two of the victims, a microbiologist and an electrician, died of anthrax, an infection carried by cattle but seldom found in the United States. The third, an animal caretaker, died of Bolivian hemorrhagic fever, a virus found in rodents in Bolivia.

INHUMAN CONDITIONS

(Waupun, Wisc.) - Animals in the dog pound are treated more humanely than prisoners in county jail facilities, an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union said recently in describing jail conditions at a federal court hearing on jail life held here. The three specifics he described were: prisoners going without water because there aren't enough faucets; prisoners forced to sleep on floors and benches because no beds were available; and prisoners wandering through the jail without shirts or shoes.

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

"HIGH SCHOOL"

By Huey P. Newton

For a while things were fine at Oakland Tech for Huey P. Newton. He had gained a "rep" as a hipster and a fighter, he says, in this portion of "High School," a chapter from Revolutionary Suicide, *written by the leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party. Here, Huey continues his probing introspection of his adolescence. Also in this excerpt Huey discusses the question of death.*

PART 19

This was my first time into anything that could be called "criminal," even though I had raided fruit trees, cracked parking meters, and helped myself to stuff in the neighborhood stores. I never looked upon that as stealing or doing anything illegal, however. To me, that was not taking things that did not belong to us but getting something really ours, something owed us. That "stealing" was merely retribution.

When I was released from Juvenile Hall, Berkeley High School refused to admit me again because my parents lived in Oakland. I went back to Oakland Tech. My friends there and others who knew me praised what I had done in Berkeley. What I had done was accepted action under the circumstances. If I had not retaliated, I would have been less respected.

Things went along well at Oakland Tech for a change. I was able to handle my differences with the teachers a little better because of my satisfaction with life outside the classroom. My reputation as a fighter kept the wolves away. I was also known as a hipster like my brother Sonny Man, and I liked that, too. Some of the kids even called me "crazy" but that never bothered me because they used to call my father that. To me "crazy" was a positive identity.

"CRAZY"

When I got my first car, it did a lot to help my "crazy" reputation. My father gave me one that had a lot of spots on it from primer paint. Melvin named it the "Gray Roach." We would pile into it and go riding, looking for girls or some action.

My friends did not like the way I drove, which led to any number of arguments and fights. Since there were so few cars available to joyride in, they had little choice. Sometimes I backed up as fast as I could, down a whole block, and when we reached the corner, I would jam on the brakes. The guys would fall out of the car, yelling. Sometimes fights started right there.

At railroad crossings, when the guard rail was down to signal an approaching train, I kept right on driving around the guard rail and over the tracks. I had several near misses, and as soon as we crossed the tracks, everyone would pile out of the car again arguing and fighting. When the fights were over, our friendships were stronger than ever. They respected me, even though they thought I was crazy.

I thought I could out maneuver anybody, anything, and never passed up a chance to try. Since I always won, I soon believed that I could always defeat the invincible and the powerful, the way David defeated Goliath. Eventually, in my pride, I believed that I could outmaneuver death.

I have never feared death. The escape from finitude was an idea that came to me after I saw the movie *Black Orpheus*. I loved the film, and saw it many times, although I thought the outcome would have been different had it been my life. Whereas Orpheus flirted with death and died, I had been in lots of conflicts, near death on many occasions, but had always come out alive. Since I had not been killed, I guess I concluded that I could not be killed.

Orpheus, too, attempts to outmaneuver death, even though the history of mankind proves that death always wins. In spite of this, the only way that Orpheus can maintain his dignity is to be unafraid and attempt to outmaneuver his oppressor.

HUMAN EXISTENCE

This seems characteristic of human existence, for although all of us are sentenced to death each day, we try desperately to get away from it. If we cannot, we try to put it off by acting in a manner that discredits death and eliminates our fear of it. This is our victory.

Black Orpheus demonstrates an even more profound truth: it is possible to circumvent death through the heritage that one generation passes on to another. At the end of the film the little girl is dancing while the little boy plays Orpheus's guitar. Though Orpheus and his woman are dead, her dance is a victory over death.

The new generation survives, and the sun still rises. The world does not stop because death has crushed a beautiful and significant part of it. Orpheus had passed on his guitar to the little boy. This means of sustaining life raises the sun again.

I held on to the idea that I was immune to death for a long time. I still do not fear the end, but I no longer believe that I cannot be killed. Life has taught me that it is an ever-present possibility; too many of my comrades have died in the past few years to let me feel that my last day will never come. Even so, I tell the comrades you can only die once, so do not die a thousand times worrying about it.

MYSTICAL

Around this time some people got the notion that I had mystical powers. I began to put various friends and acquaintances into hypnotic trances, mostly at parties or in some of the rap sessions with brothers on the block. I learned the technique first from Melvin, who had been taught by Soloman Hill, a fellow student at Oakland City College.

Later, I studied hypnosis techniques on my own and became pretty good at it. It is easy to learn, but dangerous. Just learning the technique does not teach you all you should know when you are dealing with a person's mind. You can easily hurt someone.

I guess I have put over two hundred people into trances at various times. I gave them posthypnotic suggestions — to eat grass, bark like a dog, or crawl over the floor like a baby — and sometimes I stuck pins and needles into their flesh. Once I used autohypnosis and put myself into a trance. When Melvin put a red-hot cigarette on my arm, I did not move or feel any pain, although he burned me pretty badly.

TO BE CONTINUED



The period of adolescence for Black youth is a period of uncertainty and apprehension over survival in a racist society.

THE OCTOBER COALITION: THE ISSUES, THE GOALS, THE STRATEGY AND YOU!

Primary sponsor for the planned October 17 rally at the University of California is the October Coalition, a newly-organized campus based group struggling to forge strong and solid bonds between a Black academic community aroused by threats of cutbacks and extinction and an upset and angry oppressed Black community as a whole.

The following article explains more about the October Coalition's progressive moves toward raising the level of joint action on the key Black campus/community issues of Affirmative Action to a new height of unity.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

The Declaration of Independence, 1776-1976

With these immortal words, the founders of this nation established for all time an inviolable principle of American life, a principle that rests at the very foundation of America's social, political and economic institutions; a principle according to which the legitimacy of official policy and practice must ultimately be calculated.

Yet today we stand confronted with the undeniable reality that after two hundred years of professed commitment to this principle, literally millions among us are categorically, *systematically and by deliberate design* being denied a birthright established in principle by the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed in fact by the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights; and this owing strictly to an accident of birth — that of being born on or before some arbitrary date employed to separate "productive" citizens from those to be henceforth classified as so much human debris, excess baggage to be warehoused in some loathsome geriatric institution or ghetto — or more typically, simply to be ignored and left to their miseries, afflictions and ultimate demise.

A MOCKERY

To these millions of Blacks, Chicanos, Asian Americans, Native Americans, Philipinos, women, the aged and others, the principles and guarantees of America amount to little more than a mockery — a cruel joke.

The various Human Rights movements which spent this country in the 1950s and 1960s were aimed at generating the political, economic and social machinery necessary to bring America's practices more in line with its declared guarantees and principles. While there were numerous shortrange gains achieved across a broad spectrum of political, economic, educational and other fronts, the major thrust toward the actualization of full involvement in the life of this nation by all of its citizens did not emerge until the establishment of Affirmative Action directives in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Let there be no mistake about the importance and even crucial relationship existing between Affirmative Action and the struggles and sacrifices made by millions from 1954-1969:

Beneath all the legislative titles, executive orders, federal regulations, judicial findings and so forth, Affirmative Action is the most promising, the most vital, and the most direct method for enforcing the rights of oppressed Americans that has emerged in nearly 100 years. Affirmative Action directs any and all agencies, institutions, and economic enterprises who contract with the federal government, to analyze their policies and practices, determine the existence and degree of historical racial, sexual and age discrimination and to take immediate corrective action. The penalty for failure to comply is termination of access to any and all government funding, programs and contracts.

OPPONENTS

From the outset, the opponent of Affirmative Action fought vigorously across every front to shackle its implementation. In the last three years in particular, there has been a highly vocal and orchestrated move underway not only to curtail implementation of Affirmative Action directives, but to have the very concept itself declared illegitimate under the aegis of "reverse racism and discrimination." And perhaps most disheartening of all, there is mounting irrefutable evidence that the very agencies and institutions of government responsible for ensuring the implementation of Affirmative Action guidelines are operating in complicity with others to obstruct effective inplementation.

The issue is therefore crystal clear: Are we to stand idly by as the forces arrayed against our interests, our progress and our futures connive and conspire to close the doors of opportunity to us, doors which were pried open only by hard determined struggle and sacrifices from the streets of Birmingham, Watts and Selma to the halls of Congress and the United States Supreme Court?

SUCCESS

The success of the October Coalition's efforts are crucial to the interests of all Third World people, women, aged, and progressive minded groups and organizations regardless of whethere they are based on the campus or in the larger community. The reasons for this are readily apparent:

(1) Without an effective, coordinated, and vigorous struggle waged across the total spectrum of political, educational, and economic fronts, only haltingly piecemeal and stop-gap implementation of Affirmative Action directives will occur at best — more likely, no implementation at all will be forthcoming;

(2) A vigorous Affirmative Action struggle on the campuses will be completely ineffective without a corresponding and interdependent struggle for Affirmative Action implementation in the larger community.

It would be futile to gain access to the facilities and skill afforded by educational opportunities if there are no occupational opportunities available in the community through which the skills and expertise acquired can be put to effective use. Conversely, effective Affirmative Action struggles in the community are meaningless without the simultaneous securing of the accesses to the skills needed to fill occupational positions made available in the broader community;



Student demonstrations and rallies in the past have helped to get Black students involved in implementing concrete programs for survival.

(3) Without a vigorous, sophisticated, and organized community/campus movement, the caliber of broad-based, grassroots political pressure necessary to change the direction of the present Affirmative Action policies and practices will be impossible. *Our interests are intertwined and inseparable, our goals are interdependent and inseparable, our adversaries are identical and inseparable, and therefore our struggle must be united and indivisible.*

BROAD-BASED EFFORT

Only through a united coalition carrying out a broad-based political effort can the minimal gains of the 1950s and 1960s be secured and the aspirations of millions of this nation's citizens in the 1970s and 1980s be achieved. Only through a broad-based coalition of Third World *people, women, and other oppressed* interest groups can we neutralize the current strategy employed by our mutual adversaries — that is, divide and alienate one group from the other, divide and alienate one organization from the other, and then systematically rip each off — one by one.

Today, we are at a crucial point in the history of this nation. The demise of the fundamental assumption underlying "The American Dream" — the presumptions of an infinite supply of cheap energy, and of infinite economic growth potential and progress dictates the inevitability of a basic alteration in American life styles. In short, from this point on, if the masses of people are to have access to the means to even relatively wholesome and productive life-styles, there must be a total redefinition and reorganization of political, *economic, and social priorities*. . .□

October 17

Harry Edwards Announces Mass Rally To Fight Black Education And Affirmative Action Cutbacks

Announcing plans for a major Black campus-community rally and weekend workshops at the University of California at Berkeley on October 17, 18 and 19, Professor Harry Edwards talked with THE BLACK PANTHER last week on the new spirit of determination and the rumbling of people's organizing activity growing on California colleges and universities, of which his movement, the October Coalition, is a part.

Sparked by the demand to roll back the cutbacks in education that disproportionately affect Black students, faculty, staff and employees, Brother Edwards speaks of "the beginning of a new vision" of concerted campus-community activity around issues which cut deeply into the survival concerns of both areas of Black life.

Well-known for being instrumental in organizing the 1968 Olympic Black boycott movement, Brother Edwards, now assistant professor of sociology and actually the founder of the sociology of sports field, is himself a victim of the inherently racist U.C. "cut 'em loose" approach to Black higher education.

Earlier this year Brother Edwards, the author of some 35 books and published magazine articles in his field and popular both in the classroom and on the college lecture circuit, had his contract abruptly terminated by U.C. administrators, with no option for appeal.

U.C. Berkeley's Affirmative Action plan, offering no concrete timetable for implementation, is an example, Brother Edwards charges, of the growing moral and spiritual bankruptcy which threatens to submerge Black academics with a lily white wave of reaction and corruption.



Professor HARRY EDWARDS is organizing to eliminate racism on California's university and college campuses, heading the newly-formed October Coalition.

BPINS photo

BP: What is the focus of the October 17 rally and what do you hope the outcome will be?

EDWARDS: The thing that we hope to do at the rally on October 17 is to serve notice: one, that the people involved in the October Coalition and the various other community and campus structures that are cooperating with us are aware of the urgency of the moment; secondly, to serve notice that we are also aware of our political strength if we are unified and committed to alleviating the trends and the systematically deliberate effort to roll back gains in the areas of civil and human rights to that period before 1954.

We also hope, in the following two days, October 18 and 19, to establish workshops both in the vicinity of the campus and in the community, to bring together people from this campus who have specific interests, skills, and access to resources with people in the community who have specific concerns, specific knowledge and information.

Of course, we've already begun to establish these contacts through our involvement with the Community Coalition Against Racism in Oakland.

UMBRELLA-TYPE ASSOCIATION

Hopefully out of those two days of workshops will be developed an umbrella-type association, whose function it would be to establish and maintain communication links between the campus and the community, whose task it would be to bring the expertise, the legitimacy, the articulateness of both to bear on issues that constitute campus and community Black interest.

So, we're really talking about a rally on October 17 and a lot of beginnings on the 18th and 19th, with more work and more work after that in the coming weeks and months.

BP: Is the October Coalition an outgrowth of the recent student conference that took place on the U.C. campus (see the September 1, 1975, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER) or is there a tie-in with that meeting?

EDWARDS: The October Coalition is an outgrowth of that student conference and is also a general body of concerns that are becoming more and more apparent as the people involved in the Coalition do their homework. (See article, this page.) That is to say, as the people in the Coalition begin to move away from the issue of simply dealing with some general area of concern to actually researching the specifics of the particular problem.

For example, the whole notion of Affirmative Action implementation and compliance on the part of the University and other educational systems in the Bay Area and in the state. The whole issue of recruitment and promotion of Black faculty, staff and administrators. The whole issue of a continued flow of Black students educated "judiciously"; that is to say, in a way that's consistent with many of the goals that students fought for in the late 1960s, programs of education that put some degree of importance and significance on the concerns and interests of the Black community.

BP: Who is involved in the Coalition?

EDWARDS: Well, the organizations that are involved in the Coalition cut across a broad spectrum of groups; professional groups, mostly student groups, academic groups, and extracurricular activity groups. To begin to name them would be a task.

There are Black organizations and Black Student Unions all of whom are working on the campuses as well as exchanging information of mutual use and establishing communication links in order to get this effort underway, to really begin to hold back some of the erosion that has occurred to Black interest in the area of education.

BP: Could you call this then, a "new" Black student movement?

EDWARDS: I think that would be accurate. I think that ultimately what we're talking about is the right to full access to and involvement in the educational process due to the significance of that process in terms of Black interest in the society as a whole.

This does not mean just simply enrolling Blacks in an institution. It means Black involvement throughout the total hierarchy of the educational community. It means jobs; it means equitable preparation for jobs; it means a concern for what's going on in the community in terms of occupational opportunity; it means involvement with the total spectrum of relationships that have to do with full participation in this society.

So it's not just getting access to say, the University of California. It's the whole Affirmative Action implementation and compliance problem as it exists on the campus and the community at large.

BP: What structures are you attempting to set up to bring this about?

EDWARDS: I thing that on campus there would have to be developed an ongoing coalition, a representative body, whose sole reason for existence is to monitor, to investigate, and to report and make suggestions to the minority academic community as a whole, what is happening administratively and in terms of policy, as far as their interests are concerned in the edutional situation.

I think that such a body has to establish and help to generate similar structures in the larger community. And then to coordinate with those bodies, establish a communication flow, resource access, and skills access between the campus and the community.

I think that only in this way can the interests of the Black community and the Black academics be served.□

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowlede of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



Ship traversing locks at the end of Panama Canal. The Panamanian people insist on their right of sovereignity over the canal.

Panama Rejects U.S. Proposals For Canal Zone Treaty

(Panama City, Panama) - After more than one year of talks, the U.S. and Panama are still far apart on major aspects of a new Panama Canal treaty, the government of Panama said last week.

An official report issued by Panamanian chief of state Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos Herrera stated that Panama "has emphatically rejected" a U.S. proposal that American forces continue to defend the Canal Zone waterway for an "indefinite time."

Gen. Torrijos' report was issued in response to an earlier statement made by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. With his characteristic arrogance, Kissinger insisted that the U.S. had the sole right to defend the Panama Canal and has that right "for an indefinite future."

The Canal Zone is a 50-mile long, 10-mile stretch of land cutting through the mid-section of Panama. Panama lost the Canal Zone to the U.S. "in perpetuity" (forever) as the result of a 1903 treaty which then President Theodore Roosevelt forced Panama into signing in return for U.S. support of Panama's bid to gain independence from Colombia.

GROUND TROOPS

The Pentagon and its reactionary supporters in Congress are insisting that U.S. ground troops - the U.S. Southern Command which controls 11,000 troops and civilian military personnel spread over 14 bases — be maintained for the defense of the Canal.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

M.P.L.A. GAINS CONTROL OF 11 ANGOLAN PROVINCES

F.N.L.A. And U.N.I.T.A. Withdraw From Luanda

(Luanda, Angola) - The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is rapidly consolidating its administration of at least 11 of the 16 provinces of Angola and has taken over total administration of the capital city of Luanda, with the blessing of the outgoing Portuguese administration, reports Michael T. Kaufman writing from Luanda in *The New York Times*.

The voluntary withdrawal of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) from the transitional administration of the three groups together with the Portuguese, left the MPLA to carry on alone in preparation for the November 11 scheduled independence.

Kaufman writes that the MPLA "has won a reputation for efficiency and discipline," and has organized political units that are running hospitals, cleaning up the port traffic and holding consciousness-raising sessions throughout the city and that part of the country under its administration.

Kaufman describes Luanda as "a modern seaport of pastel office buildings, highrise apartments and industrial plants." In the eight weeks since the FNLA forces have been routed from the capital, the MPLA has taken over the ministries "with the consent and sympathy of the Portuguese administration."

Kaufman writes that under the influence of the MPLA "cab drivers, waiters and even businessmen engaging in black market currency transactions address everyone as comrade . . . The partisans, many of whom wear Che Guevara-style beards, greet visitors and each other with 'soul brother' handshakes." At the government palace where both the Portuguese and MPLA officials work, Portuguese paratroops stand guard with NATO-supplied machine guns outside offices where placards proclaim victory over imperialism.

Several weeks ago seven MPLA men were executed after the soldiers were found guilty by a military tribunal of killing eleven civilians. Kaufman writes that there has been little looting



AGOSTINHO NETO, leader of the MPLA, is shown making his triumphal return to Angola's capitol city of Luanda. Through the support of the Angolan people, the MPLA controls 11 of 16 Angolan provinces after waging military struggle against CIA-backed FNLA and UNITA.

and factories and shops abandoned by Portuguese are still undamaged. The MPLA Ministry of Information produces films and holds weekly news briefings at which foreign press coverage is criticized in detail.

Phone service to other parts of the country from the capital has been cut off and commericial air service is not available, making it impossible for foreign news persons to determine first hand developments in the military action and the administration. However, Kaufman writes, the consensus among diplomats here and in Lisbon indicates that the MPLA with some 15,000 men under arms, holds most of the cities in the central coastal areas, including the ports of Lobito and Benguela.

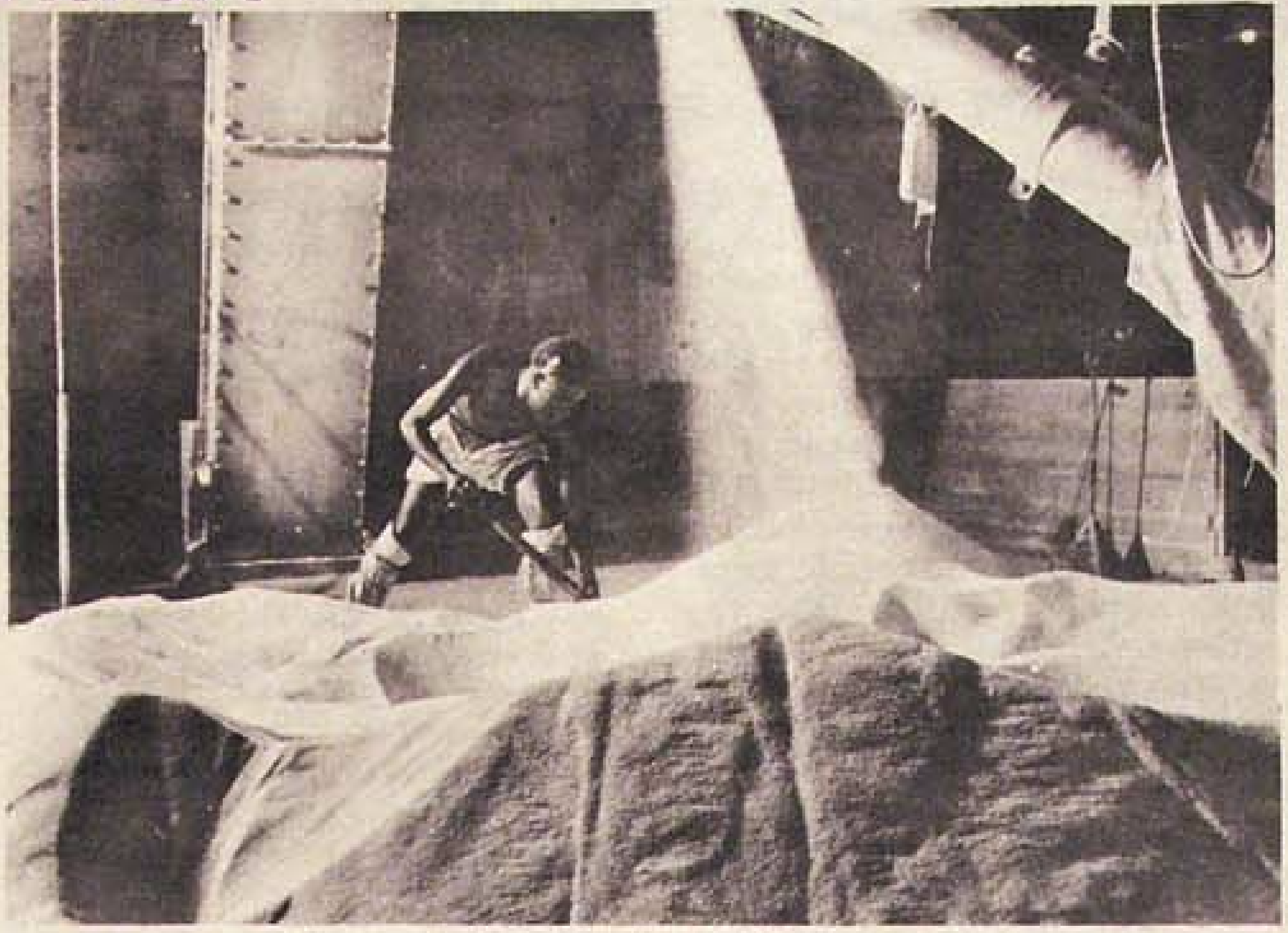
The MPLA is also reported to be dominant in the northeast.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

APPEAL FOR CONCERTED TRADE UNION ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

The following is Part 2 of a memorandum by the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) to the 60th Session of the International Labor Conference held in Geneva in June, 1975. In the memorandum, SACTU — a nonracial trade union federation established in 1955 — calls on the international trade union movement to intensify its solidarity with the Black workers of South Africa in their persistent struggle against apartheid.

The memorandum is reprinted from a United Nations document of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, Unit on Apartheid.



Black South African laborer hard at work in a sugar refinery.

PART 2

Many foreign multinationals are involved in direct dealings with the South African government in the administration of *apartheid* law. International Business Machines (IBM), for example, supplies a number of government departments with computers which are used, among other purposes, in the implementation of the pass laws and influx control measures. An IBM computer is to be used by the Department of the Interior in updating techniques for the racial classification of the population.

Standard Telephones and Cables, part of the huge International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) group, provides telecommunications equipment for the Simonstown Naval Base and recruits and employs engineers and maintenance supervisory staff to operate the equipment. Motorola South Africa, a company 40% owned by its American parent, supplies two-way mobile radio transmitters to the South African police, an obvious asset in so-called riot control and other tactics of suppression.

CREDIBILITY

Foreign companies which invest in South Africa are a valuable source of credibility for the *apartheid* regime. Through their presence in South Africa they acquire a vested interest in the status quo, and a stake in Vorster's plan to head off the liberation movements.

Led by such influential spokesmen as H.F. Oppenheimer, chairman of the vast Anglo-America corporation, the multinationals are realizing that, like Vorster, they must change their appearance. Multinational companies are hence becoming actively involved in the economic "development" of Bantustans, and in bolstering the growing face of *apartheid*, do nothing to alter the basic maldistribution of economic and political power, but rather, by replacing more overt forms of racial exploitation, divert attention from it.

WHITE ECONOMY

D. White immigration

As the White economy has expanded, its growing requirements of skilled labor are to an important extent being met through White immigration from Britain, West Germany and elsewhere. This movement into South Africa has very different economic implications from the recruitment of Black migrant workers in Zimbabwe and other African states.

White immigration has been energetically encouraged by the setting up of recruitment centers abroad and through the distribution of propaganda, as an alternative to the abolition of the job reservation system and to avert pressures for the education and training of Black workers. The inflow of skilled White workers into South Africa does not merely bolster the *apartheid* economy, but increases the numerical strength of the White population in defense of *apartheid*. White immigrants are a valuable source of new conscripts for the South African army.

TO BE CONTINUED

AFRICA IN FOCUS

Rhodesia

Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau refused to make a scheduled appearance before 10,000 persons gathered for the opening of the International Plowing Competition at Oshawa, Ottowa, when at the last minute he learned that two White Rhodesians were among the contestants. Canada has not recognized the White-minority regime of Ian Smith since it unilaterally declared independence from Britian in 1965. The two Rhodesians entered Canada on South African passports because their parents are South Africans.

Mozambique

Despite the open diplomatic slap inflicted by the newly independent People's Republic of Mozambique on the U.S. government by not inviting U.S. government representatives to attend independence celebrations earlier this year, the U.S. has "granted" diplomatic recognition to Mozambique, it was announced last week. At the same time the U.S. promised to consider economic help to Mozambique in a deliberate move to entice the new militant African government into economic dependence on the U.S. U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is quoted in an *Associated Press* dispatch as stating: "We'll do what we can to establish friendly and cooperative relations."

Mali

More than 500,000 adults in Mali, about one-tenth of the African country's population, graduated from seven-year literacy classes which began in 1968 when the literacy campaign was launched, reports *Hsinhua* news agency. They can now read and write in Bambara, the national language, and make simple accounts in production and daily life. At independence in 1960, as a result of colonial occupation, 97% of Mali's 3,800,000 population were illiterate.

Zanzibar

The Fourth Congress of the Youth League of the Zanzibar Afro-Shirazi Party concluded recently in Zanzibar with a condemnation of the racist regimes of Vorster and Smith (in South Africa and Rhodesia) for their apartheid rule and oppression.

IAN SMITH REGIME PROPOSES RACIAL DIVISION OF RHODESIA

New "Emergency Powers" Hamper Free Press

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - The geographic division of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) into two states, one Black, the other White, is being discussed by the White supremacist ruling party of Prime Minister Ian Smith at its convention currently underway here.

The alleged policy was suggested in an agenda of the convention made public in Salisbury last week, according to a *Reuters* report published in *The New York Times*. No details of the plan were given, but the underlying principle of the confederation-type division was thought to be either a form of South African style "separate development," writes *The Times*, meaning "bantustans" or a "separatist" form of government.

In another development, reflecting the growing desperation of the White minority regime in this country, the government has announced new "emergency powers" to control the press. A publications "advisory" committee with wide powers over publications "inside Rhodesia and those brought into the country" has been created.

The regulations give the minister of Law and Order power to prohibit or regulate the printing or publishing of any publication in Rhodesia as well as prohibit the possession, sale or distribution of any publication designated by the minister.

As these developments were taken, Smith reportedly told the *Associated Press* in an interview last week that he "sees the possibility" of this White-ruled nation someday having a Black prime minister and a multiracial cabinet. He said eventual sharing of power with Blacks in Rhodesia, where a minority of 274,000 Whites currently rule over the Black majority of 5.7 million, is "absolutely logical and it's common sense."

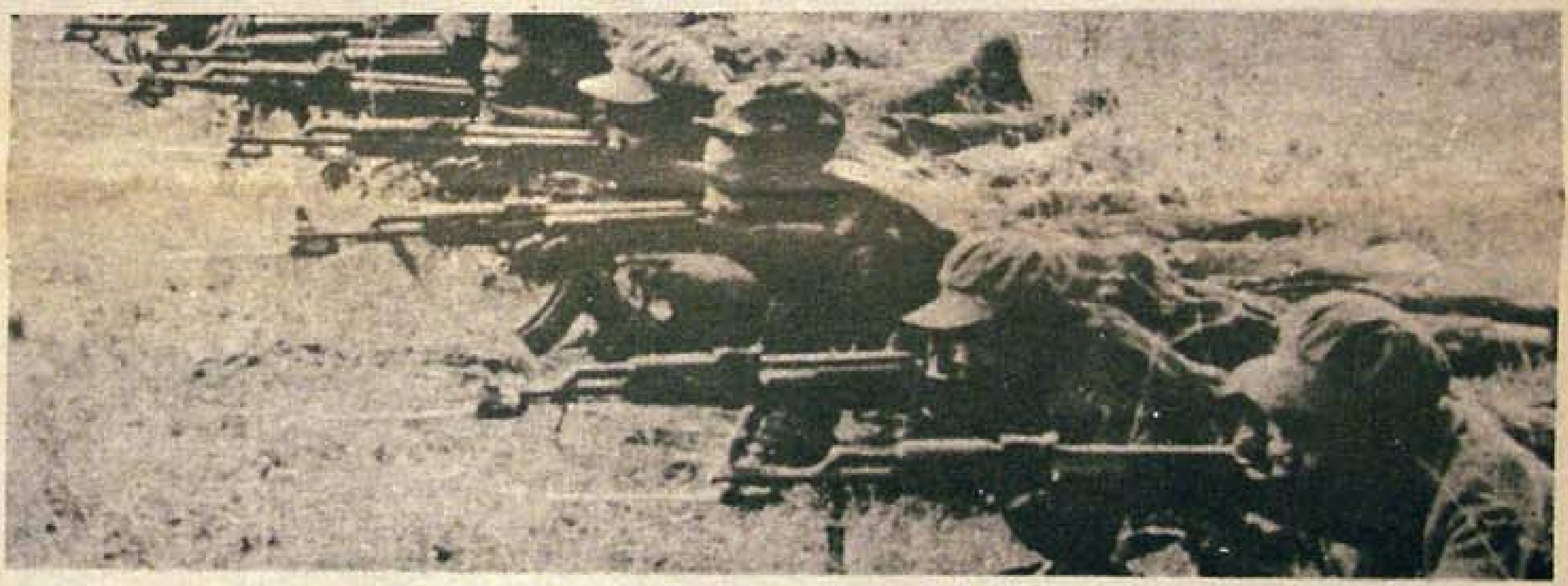
However, when asked when such a multiracial government might come into being, he declined to answer, saying: "I don't believe we can prejudge this. It depends on the right people coming forward and then one could go into the timing."

Smith's refusal to guarantee the freedom of detained and exiled African nationalist leaders, together with his insistence that any talks on a negotiated settlement take place inside Rhodesia, brought to an abrupt end the last attempt of African nationalists and his regime to reach some agreement on steps toward African rule in Zimbabwe, at the talks at Victoria Falls with African National Council (ANC) leaders on August 25.

His follow-up attempt to rally other African "leaders" as substitute representatives of the African people of Zimbabwe also was rebuked when those "leaders" declared that they would not agree to enter into any talks with the regime, pointing out that the ANC was the only legitimate voice of the African people of Zimbabwe.

Smith told the *AP* that he was not optimistic about an early resumption of constitutional talks following the breakdown of the Victoria Falls conference. He claimed that he still plans to hold a constitutional conference with what he called "moderate" Black leaders in Rhodesia. However, he did not indicate which such leaders he had in mind, or when such talks would take place.

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Zimbabwe freedom fighters prepare to fight the enemy.



Minutemen missiles being tested.

Army's Mishandling Of Nuclear Warheads Revealed

The following article, written for Pacific News Service *by investigative reporter G. Guy Gibson, reveals a cover-up by the U.S. Defense Department of an investigation into charges that the Army dangerously mishandled nuclear warheads in South Korea and engaged in a high-level conspiracy to hide its bungling.*

(Dallas, Tex.) - The Defense Department has hushed up a six-month investigation into charges that the Army dangerously mishandled U.S. nuclear warheads in South Korea and that three high-ranking American officers conspired to hide it from their superiors.

The probe was originally triggered by a letter of inquiry outlining these charges from Wisconsin Congressman Les Aspin to assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Atomic Energy, D.R. Cotter, in 1973.

Pacific News has obtained a copy of the Aspin letter. Citing a confidential source, Aspin's letter charged that Gen. Charles H. Bonesteel III, Commander of the 8th Army, had uncovered startling breaches in nuclear weapons security and inventory control while inspecting South Korea's nuclear storage sites (Maximum Security Areas or MSAs) in 1968.

According to Aspin's letter, some of the MSAs were actually missing warheads listed on the inventory control sheets. Others contained warheads no longer included in the U.S. Army nuclear arsenal. And at many of the MSAs, South Korean troops outnumbered American troops by eight to one — thus raising the possibility, according to Aspin's

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M.P.L.A. Controls Provinces

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

where diamonds are mined, and in Cabinda, a province the size of Delaware separated from the rest of Angola by a 40-mile-wide sliver of Zaire. In Cabinda, the Gulf Oil Corporation pumps 115,000 barrels of oil a day. "Production," Kaufman writes, "there, most of which goes to the United States, is said to be continuing normally."

The Holden Roberto-led forces of the National Front are massed generally in the regions of the north along the Zaire border. The UNITA troops, late comers in the military confrontation, claim to hold scantily populated stretches in the southern Ovamboland regions bordering on Namibia (South West Africa) and the area around Nova Lisbzoa, with the heaviest concentration of Portuguese settlers.

"Rescue" efforts for Portuguese settlers scrambling to leave Angola before the declaration of independence are concentrated in the Nova Lisbzoa area, which is the most densely populated part of Angola, with 40% of the country's six million people.

Preparation for the departure of the remaining 24,000 Portuguese troops are reportedly going ahead according to schedule, to be completed before November 11. Despite their own political uncertainties in Lisbon, the Portuguese here continue to say that they are getting out on November 11, come what may.

It is past time. Portugal has ruled, exploited and dominated this rich territory for 491 years. □

National Black Feminist Organization Seeks Solutions

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

We grew so fast that it has only been within the last eight months that we have had time to write up policies concerning such things as what constitutes a chapter. We are presently run by a six-member coordinating body but this may change at our first national convention to be held October 10-13 in Washington, D.C., at American University.

BP: How does the NBFO see itself in relationship to the Black liberation struggle as a whole?

SLOAN: Because Black women make up over half of the Black population in this country, there's no way for us to divorce ourselves from the Black liberation struggle. The problem with the Black liberation struggle is that with a few exceptions it has been largely male-dominated and patriarchal and therefore has not begun to address itself to the needs of Black women.

For example, I was involved in a number of civil rights and Black liberation organizations, and we never once addressed ourselves to the question of rape. This is a problem particularly affecting Black women because Black women are the highest victims of rape in this country — Black girls between the ages of 11 and 19. Black-on-Black rape is rising.

(In the civil rights movement) we never talked about household workers, 98% of whom are Black women and who are still uncovered by the federal minimum wage law . . . The civil rights movement did not change the day-to-day lives of Black women. . .

BP: How does the NBFO fit into the larger women's liberation movement?

SLOAN: We Black feminists say very clearly that we are part of the women's liberation movement. Many of us feel very insulted that the women's lib movement is called White because we were there from the beginning. We blame the racist media for that.

I traveled around for three years with Gloria Steinem (editor-in-chief of *Ms.* magazine) lecturing on racism and sexism. Invariably there would be a lot of publicity about Gloria but none about me. We relate to the larger women's movement by issues — child care, abortion, rape, etc.

SIGNIFICANCE

BP: What do you think is the significance of JoAnne Little's acquittal for the Black liberation struggle, Black women and the women's movement in general?

SLOAN: It was certainly a significant victory. Any time a Black woman can walk out of jail in this country after defending herself on a murder charge — particularly the murder of a White man — that is a victory.



Black women protesting.

Personally, I was surprised at the verdict. This country does not see rape as violent crime but as a sexual act or punishment for "bad" women who shake their tail. I think that the (issue of) the dehumanization of women in jail has still not been addressed. Men come out of jail heroes. Women come out of jail ex-prostitutes. I think that the political implications of JoAnne's case may have been lost, but in at least one courtroom it has been proved that a women has the right to defend her body by any means necessary. □

WORLD SCOPE

Arab Countries

Offsetting U.S. withholding of vital funds, a group of Arab countries has pledged some $25 million to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) — funds the U.S. refuses to give up because of UNESCO's condemnation of Israeli actions. Sources close to UNESCO said that the Arab nations, including Saudi Arabia, Libya, Algeria, Iraq, Abu Dhabi and Kuwait, would see UNESCO through the financial crisis caused when the U.S. Congress decided to withhold about $22.5 million in funds scheduled for the organization late in 1974 and this year. In November, 1974, UNESCO condemned Israel for endangering Moslem monuments with excavations in Jerusalem.

P.L.O.

The *Palestine Liberation Organization* (PLO) and the Mexican government have agreed on the establishment of a PLO office in Mexico City. A PLO delegation, led by Faruk Kaddumi, chief of the PLO's political department, recently visited Mexico at the invitation of the Mexican government. Talks on relations between the Mexican people and the Palestine people and Arab countries were held between the PLO delegation and Ruben Gonzales, Mexican under-secretary for foreign affairs, and Fernando Guttierrez, Mexican under-secretary for the interior.

People's China

The government of the People's Republic of China announced last week that it had released the last 144 raiders from Taiwan (Nationalist China) that it captured between October, 1962, and September, 1965. The announcement, made by the Chinese press agency *Hsinhua*, said that the decision to release the prisoners had been made "as an expression of leniency." *Hsinhua* also said that the prisoners had been "educated and reformed" and had been given the right of citizenship and the opportunity to remain in People's China if they so desired.

ENTERTAINMENT

What Choice Among Us?

"What choice among us?"
—An equality of need.
"And I?"
—You will have taken
that suffering by having
lived it, will see it in
the hearts of others; and,
by placing the hand of
your love upon it, calm
its throbbing.
"And then, they?"
—Also.

Michael Wilsie
Oakland, Calif.

To A Black Girl Murdered For Taking Peaches

Caught with a peach and shot in the back—
Age 13 and dead now because she was Black.
Killed for the taste of a wonderful fruit—
That hung from a lynch-tree with blood-watered roots.
Age 13, no longer with heartbeat or breath—
Was this worth a life, was this worth her death?
What good are the words that you preach and you preach
When a Black girl is murdered for wanting a peach?

Bob Bacon
Chicago, Ill.

(NOTE: This poem was written in memory of 13-year-old Sheila Farrell, who was murdered as she and several other Black children were picking peaches in the backyard of White racist John H. Bailey in Wilmington, Delaware.

Sheila had been in critical condition since August 17 following surgery. She died recently without ever having regained consciousness.

Bailey is now being held on first-degree assault in addition to a homicide charge.)

PLAY REVIEW

"ARMAGEDDON": POETRY DEPICTS BLACK EXPERIENCE IN AMERICA

". . .And he gathered them into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon.

". . .and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done.

". . .And there were thunders and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake,

". . .and the cities of the nations fell:

". . .And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found.

". . .And there fell upon men a great hail of heaven. . .and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail. . ."

Book of Revelation
Chapter 16, verses 16-21



BPINS photo

Members of the BLACK ENSEMBLE THEATRE perform African tribal rituals in scene from Three Eras To Armageddon.

(Oakland, Calif.) - "Armageddon"—the end of the world—was the subject of a thought-provoking original three-act play entitled *Three Eras To Armageddon*, expertly performed by the Black Ensemble Theatre Company at the Oakland Community Learning Center on Sunday, September 28, 1975.

The play—skillfully edited and directed by Brother Theodore Milton Jordan—combines the lyricism of some of America's famous Black poets such as Langston Hughes and Margaret Walker with the fresh, rhythmic, original forms of prose and poetry written by three members of the Black Ensemble Theatre Company: Sheree Ross, Bernard Blackston and Gordon Thomas.

Three Eras To Armageddon tells the story of the Black American experience: from a homeland in Africa, to abduction and slavery on the American continent, to the oppression of an unknown future—a seemingly bleak future for humankind. The play utilizes special effects in lighting and sound, with the absence of stage sets requiring the viewer to use his imagination in picturing the pain, suffering and degradation of Black people in America.

Accompanied by the strains of such popular songs as "Tobacco Road," the Black Ensemble Theatre Company, dressed in colorful costumes, enacted the tribal pageantry of Black people in Africa before their brutal kidnapping to America; the hardships of plantation life; the hopelessness and despair of the yet-to-be attained liberation of Black people; and the doom and destruction that the world seems headed for.

As the play ends, with humankind destroying itself, the actors plea: "Let a second generation with courage come forth."

Brother Jordan, who also ably serves as director of the Oakland Community Learning Center's Drama Program, told THE BLACK PANTHER after the performance that the idea for *Three Eras of Armageddon* came out of the Black Ensemble Theatre's desire to perform some original poetry.

DRAMA TECHNIQUE

The play makes use of an interesting drama technique called spontaneous improvisation. According to Brother Jordan, the actors follow a basic story line but do not perform from a written script. The actors, in reality, improvise their dialogue on stage, allowing them greater creativity and freedom. The Black Ensemble Theatre Company successfully used spontaneous improvisation in the award-winning play *Willie Lobo "Manchild"* which has twice been performed before enthusiastic crowds at the Oakland Community Learning Center.

The talented actors in *Three Eras To Armageddon* were Joslyn Broussard, Maria Jenkins, Michael Singleton, Marian Witt, Harold Powell, Cherry Singleton, Sheree Ross and Theodore Jordan.

Panama Rejects Treaty

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According to *Pacific News Service*, the maintenance of these U.S. troops is "the single most important point stalling the (Canal Zone) treaty."

Gen. Torrijos is totally opposed to the presence of U.S. troops in Panama and is supported in his stand by the presidents of Panama's immediate neighbors — Venezuela, Colombia and Costa Rica — and also such Latin American countries as Mexico, Argentina, Peru, Cuba and Brazil.

In March of this year, 37 U.S. senators signed a declaration that the U.S. should surrender none of its options in Panama. This action seriously jeopardizes the signing of a Canal Zone treaty since all treaties require a two-thirds affirmative vote by the Senate.

U.S. Ambassador-at-Large Ellsworth Bunker, head of the U.S. team negotiating with Panama, has publicly warned that if the disagreement between America and Panama is not soon resolved, Panama could become another Vietnam.

Following the belligerent tone of Kissinger, former Army Secreary Howard H. Calloway, the head of President Ford's re-election campaign, said recently concerning the Panama situation: "The current period of U.S. control over the Canal is in perpetuity — and some say that perpetuity is not enough."

The total population of the Canal Zone is 15,000 U.S. military and civilian personnel. These Americans are opposed to Panama's sovereignty over the Zone because most of them will lose their jobs if the Zone is returned to Panama.

The Panamanian people are becoming increasingly angry and impatient with America's refusal to yield its power in the Canal Zone.□

Black Mississippian

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

indoctrination for their children, and that they will say NOW is the time—not next year, not the year after next but NOW."

Brother Kirksey notes how during the 50 years of his life, up to 1964, he had not seen a single Black policemen or elected official in his native state. The question arose in his mind of "when must people stop paying for their own discrimination?"

As Brother Kirksey succintly puts it, "when must a people stop paying the salaries of thieves who, in return, rob them of their Constitutional rights and self-respect?"

POINT OUT

He takes pains to point out how, up until he made his decision not to support injustice, he has never violated any laws, "even those clearly unjust, un-Constitutional or unjustly applied."

When the question of military service arose, Brother Kirksey states, ". . .not one single postage stamp had to be used to find me. I promptly and voluntarily placed my service and life at the disposal of my country without reservations. . .unconditionally."

According to Brother Kirksey, former Mississippi governor J.P. Coleman was primarily responsible for the state's diabolical plan of passing law after un-Constitutional law to delay school desegregation.□

Menard Prisoners Movement

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

that they may become aware of their own ability and usefulness in free society."

The MPM says that the exploitation that permeates the operation of Menard prison can be blamed "upon society for not taking an interest in how their tax dollars are being wasted and the guises and gimmicks the prison authorities use to obtain money and not use it for the purposes for which it had been granted."

The MPM goes on to state that public interest must be directed to the Illinois Department of Corrections. The public has the right to inquire and to know how their money is spent.

MPM suggests actions that interested persons and groups can take towards ridding Menard of much injustice practiced against inmates including: writing letters and petitions to the Illinois Department of Corrections; securing lawyers to check into conditions at Menard; having the conditions exposed on local and national TV and radio programs; sending letters of protest to Governor Daniel Walker in Springfield, Illinois; forming community groups to tour Menard and revealing conditions there in local and national newspapers.

We urge our readers throughout the country and particularly in Illinois, to write letters of support and encouragement to: Robert Young, 41706, Box 711, Menard, Ill. 62259.□



Funeral scene in Chicago after two Arab youth were killed by a White Chicago cop.

Two Arab Youth Killed

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Meanwhile, a resident of the area attempting to break up and frighten a gang of marauding Whites, fired a shot over their heads. Gaffney claims he heard the shot and came out of his house in the neighborhood to investigate. Eyewitnesses to the shooting said one of the boys was shot in the head and died on the steps of his friend's apartment house. The second boy was hit while still inside the entrance to his home.

One witness said that Gaffney refused to allow a bystander to aid one of the wounded boys, saying to the bystander, "Ah, let him die. He's an Arab." Dr. Abdallah said some Arab families are living in terror in the neighborhood where the youths were gunned down. Dr. Abdallah said he had recently met with Chicago Police Superintendent James Rochford and demanded full protection for the Arab community.

ROBBERY DETAIL

A policeman who said he once worked with Gaffney on a robbery detail and who asked to remain unidentified, said the case "stinks." He also said Gaffney was "some character and the kind of officer not many people I know wanted to work with."

Jim Casey, an officer with the police department's Office of Professional Standards, said the case was still under investigation and gruffly added that "we don't dicuss cases still pending," when asked to reveal the department's findings.

Attorney Jabara told *Muhammad Speaks* that the investigation could hit a snag because of reluctance of witnesses to come forward because the system does not make it easy for witnesses in a country where a policeman's word automatically outweighs that of the poor. He said several witnesses, both Arab and White, have been located and statements taken.

Members of the Arab community are raising funds to cover funeral and legal expenses resulting from the slayings.□

MARTIAL ARTS

Muscle Development

The problem of prescribing exercises for the development of particular muscles, from the standpoint of individual body structure and development, is one of: (a) determining the joint actions in which the muscles have the strongest participation; and (b) determining the position that the body must be in for the maximum resistance to be placed upon the joint action and, therefore, upon the muscles.

Some guides for obtaining solutions to development of the many body systems and parts might be utilized from the following observations.

1. It should be remembered that some movements are produced by concentric contractions of muscles, whereas other movements are controlled by eccentric movements.

For example, some physical educators have recommended the standing toe-touch exercise as being of value in the development of the abdominal muscles. This exercise is performed by the individual standing erect, bending forward to touch their toes, followed by a return to the erect position.

In this movement, the lowering of the trunk forward to touch the toes is performed through eccentric contractions of the trunk extensors, while raising the trunk (the upper body area) to the erect position is performed by concentric contraction of those same muscles.

This type of exercise is poor for abdominal muscles in that the major muscles working are extensors and they are being stretched, while the abdominal muscles remain virtually unaffected.

Muscles are often brought into action just as strongly through accessory actions as they are through primary mover actions.

For example, the abdominal muscles are strongly involved in leg-raising exercises where the individual is resting on his/her back, hands behind head, and the legs raised from the floor. The movement is hip flexion, but the abdominal muscles are involved in stabilizing the pelvis.

THE GREAT PRO FOOTBALL WAR

By Paul Hoch

In early September, just two weeks before the start of the 1975 National Football League (NFL) regular season action, professional football experienced its second plyaers' strike in two years. Athletes in five NFL clubs stopped practicing altogether and many other clubs expressed their sympathies and support for the strikers. Only final minute promises and dickering allowed the kick-off of the 1975 season to take place at all. At this writing, the NFL players have overwhelmingly rejected a new contract with the owners, and the stalemate continues.

At issue are several factors: reduced 43-man teams, lack of an adequate pension plan, salaries, and other "freedom" of labor and contract demands presented by the NFL's Players Association.



The Boston Patriots (in white) stunned the professional sports world by walking out of training camp just prior to the start of 1975 NFL season. They received widespread support from fans and fellow players.

The following analysis of the spiraling conflict between NFL players and owners is written by Paul K. Hoch, a professor of sports sociology at Dawson College in Montreal, Canada. Dr. Hoch is the author of Rip Off the Big Game, *a study of the exploitation of sports by the power elite.*

PART 1

Once again the rumblings of labor vs. management warfare are being heard in the National Football League (NFL). In the face of the skyrocketing ticket costs probably few fans are entirely sympathetic to the players, many of whom seem to be pulling down overblown salaries. What is sometimes forgotten though is that the overwhelming majority of the prof[illegible] — in particular around four million dollars per year — go right into the pocket of the team owner. Furthermore, in the past decade the owners' share of the profits relative to that of the players has more than tripled.

Football players in particular have been falling behind players in other sports in terms of salaries, largely because the merger of the NFL and AFL eight years ago almost entirely eliminated any real competition for players. In hockey and basketball where competition between rival leagues continued to exist, player salaries skyrocketed. In very rough terms, the average NFL footballer pulls down about one-half the salary of an average pro hockey player, and only about one-third of the take of an average pro basketballer.

Moreover, careers in pro football tend to be much shorter than in basketball, and the risk of serious injury much greater. When you consider that the average pro footballer batters himself in training and college and high school ball for about eight years to have a pro career averaging around four years (from which few escape without serious injury) their average salary of around $35,000 per year hardly seems exorbitant.

Yet players' consciousness of the very real precariousness of their situations has increased

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Congratulations A's — One More Time In '75!

(Oakland, Calif.) - Champagne corks popped like firecrackers and the bubbly stuff flowed through the locker room like never before as Oakland's magnificent A's captured their fifth consecutive American League Western Division crown with an explosive 13-2 trouncing over the Chicago White Sox last Wednesday night.

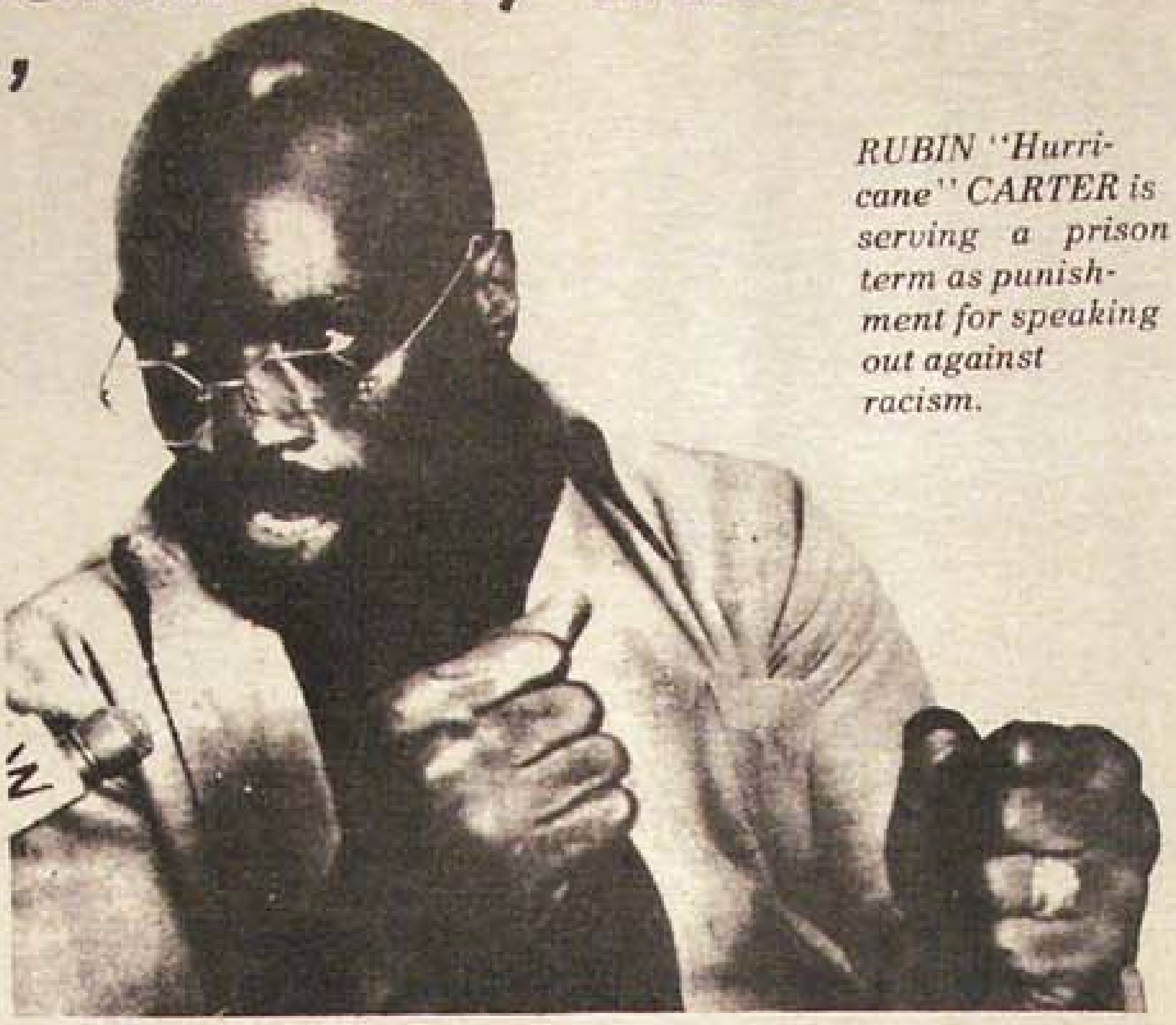
After the game, the A's clubhouse rocked as the team abandoned its usual complacent victory pose with a wild, joyous, madcap celebration. Above, star outfielder REGGIE JACKSON, lifts the A's Bible-totin' manager ALVIN DARK into the air, as centerfielder BILL NORTH looks on.

Later in the week, the A's ended their regular season with unbelievable flourish and style when ace lefthander Vida Blue combined with pitchers Glenn Abbot, Paul Lindblad and Rollie Fingers, tossing the first four-man no-hitter in baseball history, a 5-0 victory over the California Angels. In the game, Jackson belted two awesome homers to tie for the league championship with 36 round trippers for the season. Look out, Boston.

Congratulations A's. . .One More Time in '75!

RUBIN "HURRICANE" CARTER INTERVIEWED BY PENTHOUSE MAGAZINE

"AFTER THE HURRICANE, THERE IS NO MORE"



RUBIN "Hurricane" CARTER is serving a prison term as punishment for speaking out against racism.

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter was on his way to the world middleweight boxing championship when, in October, 1966, he was arrested and charged with the shotgun murders of two White men in a dingy Paterson, New Jersey, tavern. Hurricane Carter has steadfastly maintained his innocence, even submitting to a lie detector test, which he passed.

In September, 1974, two White ex-convicts, the prosecution's key witnesses against Carter and his co-defendant, John Artis, recanted their testimony. They admitted they were bribed by the police and that they lied on the witness stand in order to implicate these brothers.

Despite this serious revelation, Hurricane was denied a new trial. The case is now slated to go into federal court on appeal.

The following is Part 3 of a Penthouse *magazine interview with Rubin "Hurricane" Carter. Carter makes it obvious that he has not been imprisoned for any crime but because of a police vendetta against him due to his forceful condemnation of racism and fascist police brutality.*

PART 3

QUESTION: When you arrived in various towns, did the authorities come and get you?

CARTER: Yes. They knew I was coming, and someone had to contact them that I was coming.

QUESTION: Do you believe the FBI has a file on you?

CARTER: Absolutely. There is no doubt about it. I remember when I was in Los Angeles and got off the plane that day, I saw this beautiful woman. . .I just happened to look at her and then kept on going. But in the air terminal I saw the woman again. She was always behind me. And when I got to the motel on Olympic Boulevard in L.A., she was at the motel. I didn't connect it with anything, but I kept seeing this same woman.

And then, when Chief Parker called me up at the motel and told me I'd better come down to the police station to register as an ex-convict, there she was — trying to hide in his office. That's when he told me that the FBI had been following me every step that I had taken in Los Angeles.

QUESTION: You participated in Martin Luther King's March on Washington in 1963. Yet in 1965, when Reverend King asked you to participate in the march in Selma, Alabama, you didn't. Why was that?

CARTER: Because of threats on my life. I was catching pure hell in the North and the West and all the other places I was going, and I knew that if I ever went to Alabama *nobody* was going to protect me down there.

Dr. King was talking about nonviolence, about being peaceful — laying down on the street while dogs were biting you and horses were stomping on you and cops were beating you over the head.

Well, I knew that I could never be nonviolent. I'm a peaceful man, but that doesn't mean I'm nonviolent. If you will be nonviolent with me, then I will be nonviolent with you. But if you are going to put some violence on me, I'm going to whip it right back on you.

QUESITON: In your book, you described a "plan of Black mass murder." Would you explain this for us?

CARTER: Each time a civil rights bill was passed, Black people died in the streets. In 1964 the Civil Rights Act was passed, and a few days after that you had the Harlem fruit riot. And then riots were proliferating unchecked all over the country. Later, you had the Voting Rights Act signed, and then Watts came up.

Every time somebody would say that some kind of rights were going to be legislated for Black people in this country, the racist elements in the political system and the police would immediately bear down on Black people and show them that even though these rights were signed into law, they didn't recognize the law.

QUESTION: Do you believe that agents provocateurs were involved?

CARTER: Well, I really didn't know then. But, yes, I believe it now.

QUESTION: With your beliefs about self-defense, how did you handle all that harassment from the police and FBI?

CARTER: I had to hire an adviser to handle the police. This adviser went with me everywhere, but I stayed out of the country and up in my training camp so much that he got tired. He was married and had children, and his wife got tired of him staying away nine months out of the year. So ultimately he left me too.

They were isolating me. And this was before Black people were proud to be Black, you know. There was no "Black Power" then, so I was hung out there by myself, and people would say, "Well, that crazy nigger is in the papers again — messing with all the police forces in the country." During all that time I had to go to other countries to fight because the cops were really coming down hard on me at home.

QUESTION: So you were actually forced into exile in a sense?

CARTER: Yes. I had to go to Africa to fight. I had to go to London, to Paris, to South America — just to stay away from here. It was brutalizing me, mentally, because in fighting if you aren't in shape, both mentally and physically, you're no good.

TO BE CONTINUED

Chino Violence

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Most of the conversation centered around getting into court in order to get a release from the judge or get bail set. However, this inmate was going back to Chino after a court appearance. While in the holding cell he gave a chilling description of racial violence in the "Big House."

When he first came into the holding cell, he was extremely nervous with a very cold attitude and manner about him. His composure was almost neurotic. He was wary of everyone, but as the conversation went on he began to loosen up and even smile.

"The first day I came into Chino, the Aryan Brotherhood approached me, gave me a 'shank' (prison-made knife) and told me I was a new member.

"Shortly afterwards I happened to brush a Chicano inmate and I naturally said, 'excuse me.' But some of the Brotherhood saw this and I was told to 'get down' (fight) or to be on guard for my life."

MEXICAN MAFIA

He went on to describe how the Brotherhood, the "Mexican Mafia," and the Black Guerrilla Family are constantly pitted against each other by prison guards, causing a heavy toll of death and serious injury. In fact, he told how "WAR ZONE!" would be blasted by the guards over the prison loudspeaker, which meant a rumble or fight was underway somewhere; a signal to alert, terrify and provoke the inmates.

"I never go anywhere by myself," he stated. It was a cardinal rule for members of different races to travel in groups of 10 to 20. This was done, he said, to prevent oneself from being set up by the guards.

"If you were alone the guards would alert someone from the other group and you stood a chance to be beaten and stabbed until you were dead or until the guard blew the whistle signalling 'fun's over.'"

But he consistently pointed out throughout his conversation that the inmates did not create this situation of a living hell. "The bulls (guards) are afraid of us," he said, "because they know that if we weren't killing each other, we'd be dealing with them."

This whole account had a sobering effect upon everybody that day, but the coldest fact was that most of the people in the holding cell were released, while the Chino inmate had to go back and try to stay alive.□

Imprisoned Omaha Activist Condemns Death Sentence

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

And people of all colors and walks of life are getting, or have already gotten hip to the stench of your ways. And the security you once felt in being god is leaving you.

"You feel weak and dying. It frightens you; so you leap out at those who represent your demise. You lash out with the rotted and broken teeth of an old hound.

"You have sentenced a seventeen-year-old Black youth to death and think you have done something — and you have. You have pointed the finger of guilt at yourself, have shown the public that the feeble are capable of murder.

"You are guilty of murder. But the difference between your crime and the alleged commission of murder by my Brother Stewart is that there is no one to sentence you for your crime.

"Teddy, I know your ilk well, your double-standard systems. Had Rodney Stewart been White and appeared before you for having killed a Black person, you would not have tolerated a first-degree murder charge and the death sentence would have been beyond the stretches of your imaginaton.

"Had Rodney been a man of wealth before you for having killed a poor human being, you might have found him in contempt for not having killed more.

"Shall it be suggested to you tomorrow that 16 and 17-year-olds be permitted to vote, hold elective office, transact business in their own name, be able to purchase alcoholic beverages legally, etc., you would turn red with rage.

"You would not wish to see juveniles have the rights of adulthood. But you do not mind at all juveniles, especially if they're non-White and poor, having to suffer the consequences of adulthood when they come before you charged with a crime. Such is the nature of your morality.

"Jesus Christ compared the pharisees to tombs, spotless white on the outside while, on the inside, there is the odor of decomposing flesh. Such a comparison fits you well. . ."□

JoANNE LITTLE IN CHICAGO: "SUPPORT DELBERT TIBBS"

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

to learn from the people he met. He was picked up in another county, some time after the alleged crime, and sent back, although his description in no way fitted that given by the victim. This case is now on appeal and a *national committee* has been formed to raise funds for his defense.

An unexpected highlight of JoAnne's visit came when she and Larry Little, the national spokesperson of her defense committee and coordinator of the Winston-Salem Chapter of the Black Panther Party, both appeared at the Intercommunal Survival Committee's Community Forum in Northside Chicago. With only a few hours advance notice, over 300 Uptown residents packed into the regular Saturday morning meeting to hear Ms. Little.



BPINS photo

JoANNE LITTLE speaking at PUSH headquarters in Chicago during her tour to bolster support for Delbert Tibbs. A crowd of over 700 people came to hear her speak.

CROWD

An attentive crowd first listened to Brother Larry Little speak movingly about his meeting with Chicago Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton three weeks before his assassination. Many in the crowd were struck by the great similarity to Fred which Larry displayed in energy, dedication and warmth as he talked about the need to build deep roots in the community through the community Survival Programs, serving the concrete needs of the people.

As an example, Larry Little explained that JoAnne had avoided the waiting press immediately after her acquittal and had spent the next 10 hours working in the Black Panther Party Free Ambulance Service office in Winston-Salem answering the phones.

JoAnne Little then completely won the hearts of the mixed Uptown crowd of poor Whites, Latinos, Native Americans and Black people as she told the ironically humorous details of her daring escape from jail following the incident with Clarence Alligood, the prison guard.

After speaking, JoAnne was presented with a bouquet of flowers by a young White sister from the community and received many warm words from an enthusiastic crowd that greatly appreciated her taking the time out from a busy schedule to come into their community.

She pointed out that the situation of overcrowding in Cook County jail was a situation well known to her, a situation where poor people must wait in jail because they do not have the money to make bail or hire competent attorneys. She told of the massive and overwhelming response of thousands of people around the country to her case, each donating small amounts of money to make her the "one in a million" who received an adequate defense.

Speaking that evening at PUSH headquarters to a crowd of nearly 700, JoAnne emphasized her support for the Delbert Tibbs Defense Committee. She called on the people to stand together behind Delbert Tibbs the way they had stood together behind her case. Then she showed her understanding of the day to day oppression of all Black and poor people by speaking out against greedy businessmen who take from the community but "put nothing back in."

JoAnne offered the Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party and other groups as a concrete way to reach and organize the people and criticized those who only give rhetoric to the community. She again emphasized that there are thousands of JoAnne Littles still in prison, unable to get a fair trial because of lack of funds; and she said "none of us can be free as long as these people, people like Delbert Tibbs, are still in jail."□

Nuclear Warheads

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

letter, that a foreign power could seize U.S. nuclear weapons.

Bonesteel reported these findings to Gen. Dwight Beach commander of USARPAC (U.S. Army Pacific), who had originally ordered the inspection tour in preparation for a visit by top civilian Defense Department official Dr. Carl Walske, then in charge of inventory, supply and control of all atomic weapons deployed by the U.S.

According to Aspin's letter, which cited a source present at the time, Beach then conspired with Bonesteel and Lt. Gen. Harry H. Critz, commander of I Corps in South Korea, to hide the deficiencies from Walske. The cover-up included doctoring books, juggling warhead serial numbers, and temporarily stationing infantry troops around certain nuclear sites.

STOP-GAP MEASURES

Apparently, these stop-gap measures proved effective. Other sources have told *PNS* that when Dr. Walske conducted his tour, all MSAs were able to show a full and proper inventory of weapons. If a site was short nuclear warheads, according to these sources, they would be trucked in by convoy during the night while Walske slept. Warheads no longer carried on inventory sheets were removed and stored elsewhere with little or no security.

At one MSA that lacked a permanent military garrison, infantry men were camped in tents. Although officials told Dr. Walske a permanent barrack was planned, it was never built. Once Walske left, moreover, even these stop-gap measures were removed, these sources claim, and the precarious security arrangements remained unchanged.

The probe conducted by the Army inspector general into Aspin's letter of inquiry was never publicized — although the probe was concluded early in 1974.

A copy of the findings was, however, sent to a House Armed Services subcommittee and placed in a secret file. Congressman Les Aspin's office now says he may move to seek declassification of the report.□

End All Wars Of Aggression

The Great Football War

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 23

only slowly, and indeed the players association is only just getting organized as a real union.

One of the most crucial ideological weapons in management's pacification arsenal is its ability to use racism to divide White and Black players. In the present NFL strike, you didn't have to have especially good eye sight to notice all those Black players carrying picket signs at training camp gates, while many White vets (including especially a large number of higher paid glamour boy White quarterbacks) marched into practice.

The establishment press seemed to relish giving attention to this aspect of things, perhaps in hopes of turning a fairly united and solid players' strike into some sort of race war. It didn't work. There was in fact, except for the quarterbacks, almost total Black-White unity among the strikers right to the end.

Aside from the quarterbacks, what scabbing there was came from almost entirely marginal players, many of whom would not even have been in the league but for their scab duty vis-a-vis the strike.

TO BE CONTINUED

Slain Black Man's Family Sues "Killer Cops"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

witnessed the murder of her son and the destruction of her home and all of the possessions — that the police "willfully and without 'cause or provocation shot and killed" Semillion. The affidavit adds that Mrs. Ester was hospitalized by the incident "suffering shock and injury to her nervous system."

When Brother Ester jumped through the front room picture window, he was wearing a partial cast on his leg. How could he, many have questioned, have held his shotgun "at the ready" as the police claimed to justify their fusilage of bullets, since when he hit the ground he was in great pain from his leg, blinded by smoke and tear gas, and totally disorientated to his surroundings?

On May 15, 1975, the city of Oakland rejected the Ester family's claim of $2 million. □

Letters to the Editor

REVOLUTION AGAINST THE CAPITALISTS

Dear Brothers & Sisters,

I have been locked up for 3 years now and I am interested in the Movement. I would like to become an active part of the Revolution against the Capitalists that are running the country.

I have been doing a lot of reading to further my education and my mind. I was a Young Lord from Chicago. I've been in here so long that I haven't been in touch with anyone from the Young Lords due to the fact that they have moved and I don't know if they are still going. But I would like to become a part of the Revolution.

And I would like to have someone to write so I can know what is going on out there on the streets.

I have been getting the Black Panther Paper and I am really happy things worked out for Sister JoAnne Little. I hope things work out for Johnny Spain and the other brothers in the San Quentin 6.

I would like to get in touch with some brothers and sisters in the Revolution.

Love to my Brothers and Sisters of the Revolution and Power to the People.

Love, peace and power,
Brother Robert Dante' Pendergraft #3400
Pontiac Correctional Center,
Pontiac, Ill. 61764

GOOD JOB WITH THE LETTERS

Dear Sir,

I was, again, well pleased with the condensation you made in printing my letter about JoAnne Little and as always before you well succeeded in putting over my own most important thoughts on that subject.

And now I have a suggestion to make which I hope you will find useful. Your editorial staff has shown a very good ability to condense sometimes rather long letters into messages which take up less space but still will present the thoughts and main points of their original writers.

Now, in letters to the regular establishment press, writers are told to cut down the size of the letters, be brief and concise and to the point and this they often consider more important than the contents of the letter themselves. But the Panther Paper has shown itself to be a common People's Paper so I think it should use a different approach which I think it has actually been doing and that is to encourage the letter writer to just tell it like he sees it, then send it in.

Now, when he does this his letter may be longer than it might be otherwise. But on the other hand, he does not run the risk of mistakenly leaving out good points just to make a letter more brief and concise. Meanwhile with the whole letter — just as a person wrote it — someone on the editorial staff can judge what is best to print and what isn't and who to shorten and shape up that letter for the most benefit to the readers with the least necessary use of available space.

You have thus far done a very good job with letters of mine which you have printed and I believe you've been doing the same with a lot of other letters you have printed. So do, please continue this good work.

Sincerely,
Paul H. Dubnar
Seattle, Wash.

IT'S MY FIGHT TOO

Greetings Comrades;

I've just finished reading "To Die For The People," which is positively a masterpiece. Huey's insight, the Party's insight, is so incisive that it is almost impossible to check my impulse (to grab the pig by his tusk and ride him till his neck breaks) — but then too, it's not just my fight. I'm interested in starting a Black Panther Party right here in McAlester (of course, with your approval).

I'm presently in Oklahoma State Prison (Big Mac). Actually Big Mac is not so big at all. You may have heard of the July 27, 1973, riot. It's been 2 years of racist attacks against the convicts here for being unruly. I'm Maximum Security (they say), but I do get to live among 48 Black warriors who refuse to kneel.

Me and 48 Black warriors don't seem like much. And even though we're not as politically aware as we shoud, we do have a positive foot in the door of Revolution. What I want to know is where do we sign up.

All Power to the People!

(Name withheld)

PANTHER PAPER: VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Brother David,

I'm glad to see that "All Forms" fit into the September 15 issue.

Enclosed are a few more pieces which I hope move in the same direction as what's been submitted to date, as I also hope that what I'll be now doing will reflect less the dream and more the purpose. . .against the wall in front of me I see such titles as "Time and Free Will" by Bergson, Eliade's "Myth and Reality," the Indian "Mahabharata," et cetera; and it seems to me that the intellectual soil which does not know its own toil, runs fallow — which leads me to remark here that the Black Panther Party paper is to my view the only actual voice of a people, of any and perhaps all people alive in the English language today.

Power is in its expression!

Michael Wilsie
Oakland, Ca.

Black Police

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

genial factors that cause(s) crime." Yet, if Congress ignores this report along with other vast documents and statistics, I feel they have done a disservice to those individuals who worked so meticulously and diligently in analyzing this difficult and complex occupation of a Policeman.

"I encourage you to stimulate your colleagues in establishing open hearings on LEAA immediately. Since I represent a large number of minorities, I would be highly honored to express and articulate their views, specifically as it relates to those police agencies that insist upon maintaining a system which has engulfed and marred America with ugly scars by the 1960s riots.

"Finally, we must all embrace ourselves and proceed with the operation of cutting away the cancer of racism in America."

Copies of the letter were sent to: President Gerald Ford; California Governor Edmund G. Brown; Congressman Ronald V. Dellums; Congresswoman Barbara Jordan; Congressman Donald Edwards; Congressman Fortney Stark; Charles Thompson, Office of Revenue Sharing; George Thomas, president, NBPA; Renault A. Robinson, National Information Office, NBPA, and E. Richard Larson, American Civil Liberties Union and NBPA attorney. □

Ian Smith Regime

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

In further comments about his alleged belief in a multiracial government "someday" in Rhodesia, Smith said: "I don't like talking about governments of people in office by color. I think if we get to this stage we will have failed in the deal we are pursuing in Rhodesia. We believe in quality as opposed to quantity, if I may put it to you that way. We think that the ideal is to be governed by the best people who are available in Rhodesia, irrespective of their color. . ."

Of course, it would never occur to Smith or to his regime that from the Black population of the country the "best people" are to be found to govern Zimbabwe. □

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